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THE INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT EVENTS: A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE GENERAL ELECTION.*

I.

HERE is an election coming on ; have we students of the social sciences any contribution to offer ? Not, of course, on behalf of any one party ; but towards aiding here and there the thoughtful elector—for such there are—to understand more of the national and international situations in which he is taking his part ; and each as fully as may be in their social aspects—from historic and geographic to economic and moral. In the simplest possible form, a beginning of such impartial yet definite information, and towards public guidance, was published before last year's elections in France—a brief and simple summary of the programme of every one of the many parties in the field, in each case provided by its own central committee, and reproduced without criticism or commentary by its editor. With our fewer parties, it may be said that such summaries are less necessary ; yet they surely would be of interest to many, and helpful too.

BUT how go farther ? While as citizens we each cast our votes as we judge best, as students of social science we cannot but know that any grouping of minds sufficiently serious and active to form a party at all must have something to say for itself : there must be some explanation of its historic origins and its present convictions, its aspirations towards action as well. But to understand what these are, must we not above all aim at some fuller understanding of our general social conditions ? How have these main conditions of our present social life arisen ? What are its main factors, and whither are they tending ?

EACH party of course has its own strong views on all these questions and more ; and those often clearly and forcibly stated. Hence, while voting as best we can, we may none the less still feel that no one doctrine is sufficient to explain the state of things we are living in ; and that no one policy, however hope-inspiring, is without its incompleteness, and even its dangers.

IN short, then, are we not being thrown back upon social studies ? And this with some disappointment that so few active members of any of the parties have ever seriously aided us in such enquiries ?

*The first of two (and possibly more) papers by Professor Geddes towards an interpretation of current events. The reader should bear in mind that this paper is written from the *Collège des Ecosais*, at Montpellier, a post-graduate institution founded by Professor Geddes in 1924.—Editor, Soc. Rev.

MANY men, many minds ! How can we set about understanding them ? What can our sociology do for this problem ? For if nothing, what good is it ? If even a little—(and why not much ?) how much use it may be ! First of all no doubt towards better understanding : but as this becomes truly scientific, it cannot but suggest practical applications as well. If mathematical minds, with their statistical and reasoning powers, be of admitted value for the knowledge of social affairs ; if the mechanical, physical and chemical minds be yet more appreciated for their material services ; if agricultural and medical minds be admitted as of service ; and if psychologic and educational endeavours also,—why not also the sociological, since only last in making its appeal because its field of enquiry is the most complex and intricate of all, yet by far the most illuminative and also most decisive for the course and conduct of human life.

II.

BEFORE venturing on the task of putting the main current political and social ideas and ideals into such intelligible order as we may, we must obviously see what ideas are current, and this especially among the younger generation—and even on more grounds than that of their majority of votes. So I ask a mingled group of students round the fire to name the subjects they consider of present political importance. So out they pour—Capital and Labour, Dictature or Democracy, Agriculture and Industry, Afforestation and Conservation of National Resources, Relations of Sexes, Finance, Crime, Poverty, Education, Art, International Relations, League of Nations, Armaments, War, Peace, General Welfare, Health and Public Health, Population Question, Colonies, Socialism and its Nationalisations, Communism, Liberalism, Conservatism, Free Trade and Protection, Temperance, Food, Housing, Insanity, Decentralisation, Morals. Here the flow lags. One thinks Morals already sufficiently noted under Sexes. Industries are considered to be treated under Capital and Labour, and for all occupations ; not needing their consideration in detail, since all are to have the eight-hour day, Sunday rest, &c. An interesting stream—for its associations of ideas and the varied interests it discloses, as well as for its indications of current values. Religion is not even mentioned ; and it seems strange when I recall it as not only often a main factor in the historic past, but even in the present : witness the momentous settlement between the Vatican and Mussolini, with its varied significance, its many possibilities. Nor yet Science, though Social Science is the very subject of which we are in quest. Nor Philosophy, though it has to be admitted that our “ classical ” political economy has been utilitarian and individualist, and that Marx owed much to Hegel. And so on—in short, that every political and social party, actual or possible, has its philosophy of some kind, whether or not expressed, or even recognised by its voters.

NEXT comes the further question. Admitting all these subjects and more as relevant to current political and social issues, how are we to set about the study of them? No reply!—a hesitation here so far natural enough, since students, in and especially outside their own countries, are usually detached from any distinct party connection. Yet since the looker-on has also his advantage for seeing the game, the question can fairly be pressed; yet without answer; for current studies are not yet sociological.

YET the idea of each and all these many problems as so many products of our European society, as outcomes and expressions of its past and present life, is soon seen as helpful. A little discussion brings out this idea more clearly: and these at first sight distinct problems, and the respective party attitudes to them, fall into groups. Thus poverty and disease, ignorance, vice and crime group together as Evils; so dealing with them—as philanthropist, doctor, teacher, parson and policeman, have all so long been trying to do, and yet so far not effectively enough—is soon seen to raise the larger question of some more effective treatment on the larger scale; as with medicine rising into public health for salient and non-controversial example, which no party would disavow. The psychological physician is next seen as already beginning to deal with more of these evils than have his separate predecessors, yet still essentially as regards individual cases: so how reach fuller treatment still, more fully psycho-social?

NEXT, however, we see that neither good intentions, patent medicines, nor even mass-impulse or voting, are sufficient for the safe and sure treatment of the individual, and that so-called medical treatment, without due diagnosis, is but quackery; so still more must it be when we attempt to deal with social evils in the mass. Like organic diseases, these are perturbations of the normal life: and the true physician comes to his art by way of knowing all of this that he can learn; and so goes on learning. Thus, too, it cannot but be for social life. What, then, are its normal conditions, for its reasonable prosperity and health?—for knowledge and its applications?—for thought and its fuller education?—for sanity and for justice?—for freedom and equality of opportunity?—for virtue too, and this as regards not only sex and family, but of due fraternity in community life as well, so both regional and civic?—and with all these widening out, even to the national life, and beyond it, to international and fully human range?

III.

SOCIETY then, and at its best, goes from simplest beginnings onwards, with its civilisations emerging from earliest strivings with the difficulties of nature, and advancing towards fresh civilising utilisations of its opportunities as well. Social order is ever emerging and spreading from simple domestic or group beginnings; and so for economic

order and peace with interchanges and co-operations between different modes of life and occupation, slowly overcoming their conflicts. Such are among the fundamentals for the understanding of any and every simple society, and so bring light towards understanding the complex and intricate interweavings and breakings of the larger webs of social life to-day. Hence the increasing suggestiveness of our immense labyrinths of historical enquiries, and others back of these into the deeper lying pre-history of early man. All this past has contributed to the world's present ; indeed, it is still living there, as part of the social heritage, or too often part of its burden also.* So Economics, for instance, has been shown to need this thorough historical survey, which abates the crudity of its main rival doctrines ; and the like for the understanding of morals and of religions, of manners and customs, of laws and policies.

ALL these studies seem long and difficult : and plainly there is but little time for them before an election ! Yet here popular books abound ; and Wells' *HISTORY* goes on reaching many readers. For simple illustrations one needs but to look around one's home ; as with its fireside continuous from earliest beginnings, and its kettle puffing us on into our industrial age. Or, again, take the cultural present, and past : what simpler, yet completer, outline-record of the main development of our modern culture and education than the schoolboy's book-bag ? How so ? His arithmetic-book is the recent yet now essential introduction to the well-nigh all-dominant financial age, with its "pecuniary culture." His examination-paper is a recent democratic-imperial requirement, hence introduced by Napoleon from China, and then adopted in London ; and his "general knowledge" essentially derives from the *GRANDE ENCYCLOPÉDIE* which prepared the French Revolution. His grammar and dictionary have come to him from the later days of the Renaissance ; and his essay is still generally a small-scale medieval thesis. His Virgil and Homer come direct from the Græco-Roman past : and his Bible knowledge and religious instruction come down from patriarchal Israel. His enlivening story-book, however recent, is in real continuity with the "matriarchal" past, of woman as story-teller : and as for his luncheon apple and his ball, what are these but the raw food and the ready missile of our little primitive and even primeval man ?

THUS though history, and now even archæology and pre-history, be among the great studies of universities, and of no small bulk among their libraries, it is their view-point that is essential ; and that is easily acquired. And as this acquisition becomes familiar, our too simple, too crudely industrial and political idea of "progress" becomes more and more truly an evolutionary one, of social and individual developments, actual and possible.

*Cf. Sir Arthur Mitchell's complementary books: *THE PAST IN THE PRESENT*; and *THE PRESENT IN THE PAST*. (Blackwood).

IV.

INDUSTRY and art, health and mental development, economic well-being and moralised social life are all greatly desired in our times, and laboured for; indeed, in many respects more than ever; with vast institutions and endeavours, educational especially; witness the United States, now establishing these on a scale of magnitude beyond Europe's. Yet why is our industry so often ugly, and this alike in spoiled environment and inferior product? Why art so often useless? Why medicine still so empiric?—Why education so unreal, abstract, verbalistic?—Why economics so often sordid, and ethics so commonly futile? Were such conditions to be permanent, and ever increasing, as so many crude industrialists, and their workers also, believe, or at least accept, we might well despair, as often did Ruskin, Carlyle and many another noble spirit, even when such a qualor of nature, life and mind were but beginning their course. Yet here again the past helps us to understand. Almost everyone nowadays knows that "the Stone Age" was not one simple civilisation, but broadly twofold, and each with various phases. Our first slow beginnings were with eoliths—flints so rough that it is still open to dispute whether they were shaped at all or no. But in time flint-chipping became a skilful art, producing tools more and more subtly wrought, and for uses manifold; and with these came an amazing development of graving and of sculpture, and even with colour also; in fact, an age of art, whose vital vividness commands our respect, even to admiration. Yet all such phases are of the older stone-age, and associated with the hunting life.

GRADUALLY, however, came in agricultural peoples; and these more numerous, since even the rudest agriculture yields far more food for its area than can hunting; with this a gentler life as well; hence far more favourable to the status of woman, and to the care of childhood. The vivid and dramatic vision of the hunter is now lacking; but skill develops in other ways; so, not improbably aided by woman's patience, we come into the New Stone-Age, with its implements wrought and polished to still-enduring perfection, as well-nigh all museums show, but yet superlatively those of Egypt. These leading us on into its historic times; and these with periods of progress, sometimes so rapid that we are told that between the earliest known use of stone for lining a tomb to the Great Pyramid needed but a century. Flinders Petrie and others have traced corresponding progresses for periods of Egyptian sculpture. But now come to our own times. We see how its economics remain backward, in as yet substantially failing to see how in this, our industrial and technic age, we can distinguish two periods no less clearly distinguishable than are paleolithic and neolithic, which let us call paleotechnic and neotechnic. For in the first of these—still too largely persistent, yet declining—we have been getting up coal too much anyhow, to get up steam anyhow, to run machinery

anyhow, to produce cheap products anyhow : and these but for individual profits, estimated in gold, and at death anyhow ! Whereas now we are increasingly living into the beginnings of a far higher stage of industry, in which we more truly understand our task, as the utilisation and increasing conservation of the resources and energies of nature, and towards the civilised maintenance and progress of our communities. Is not this a fuller social evolution ? Between the paleolithic and neolithic phases of the past stone age, and the paleotechnic and neotechnic phases of the present industrial one, there is thus a clear analogy ; and surely hopeful, since we are passing from paleotechnic coal-crises to neotechnic electrification.

V.

THE greatest of all discouragements of modern life is that of the terrific evolution of war, throughout recent history ; and even of well-nigh universal threatenings of a fresh climax utterly surpassing the recent one. On the one side every War Office is busy with the basest thinkable perversions of our growing command of nature, as with gases and germs, to be used, by turn or together, for the doom of cities, the destruction even of life over whole regions. Where war preparations go on, there are no less poisonous perversions of truth, such as " war is an essential element of human nature " ; while on the opposite side we have still, even from the League of Nations, the Peace Societies, or their public of goodwill, no adequate sociological inquiry into the conditions evolving wars. The basal element of truth, obscured amid war sophistries, is that it is mainly the hunting life which is based on the successful infliction of death ; so that this may not only develop into the man-hunt, but even idealise it, as under the grand name of Victory, for what is oftenest only the less severe of mutually calamitous defeats of both sides.

BUT whoever cares to give thought and observation to rural occupations in his own western country, or still better in the older and gentler ones of China or of India, can see that the contact of such peasant folk with war has arisen from aggression by hunter or nomad, trader or pirate, or by the varied combination of these, more or less, as mis-rulers.

FOR a fresh and kindred illustration, take the vice of gambling, now so widely diffused, from horse-racing to the stock exchange ; so to the ruling classes, seldom untainted, it seems permanent. Yet this social vice is also not one of " human nature," but of occupational nature. It is a spreading infection, derived from the daily uncertainties of the hunting and mining life, and of the fishing and maritime world ; and to which the pecuniary culture is particularly open ; yet steadier occupations, of surer result, are normally free, or but recently infected. So returning to war, we need but briefly repeat a main thesis of our

paper in the last number of this REVIEW : " Rural and Urban Thought : A Contribution to the Theory of Progress and Decay." Our thesis is that the present developments of war are the logical and necessary consequences of the enormous outrunning by the physical sciences and the mechanistic arts of the rural and vital arts and sciences, with their temporary eclipse accordingly. Hence whether our machinists and militarists need another war-lesson or no, there can be thus no complete despair of peace ; since the sciences and arts of life, mind, society and morals are also on their way, and even towards recovery of world-guidance and its needed leadership. These should soon be turning the vivid energies of youth, in peaceful armies larger than ever, to the renewal of our half-ruined planet,—to forestry, reclamation, irrigation, and agriculture, and on a scale for which ancient examples and contemporary achievements are but incentive beginnings. This, of course, seems " utopian," merely to those who will not try it. Here on the heath overlooked by this window we see the local regiment at its drill of mimic warfare ; yet that not up to date of the recent war, since without pick and spade for digging in and entrenching. Meanwhile, however, mutually in the way, we have half-a-dozen old soldiers tree-planting. One officer says to another : " Ah ! here they are planting trees ; we will have to clear out." But we say quietly, " No ; you will come in ; we will teach you ; here are your instructors." The military engineers, indeed, lately dug a well for the school up the road. Beginning with our foremost forest-expert here, he has now so far civilised our modern caravan-kings (the directors of the P.L.M. and Midi railways) that they now send him their engineers and road-men, to show them where to plant trees along their lines. Each spot, dry or wet, rich soil or poor, is thus getting its appropriate trees. So here is beginning a great object-lesson, and to the whole travelling public, and by and by from the Italian frontier to the Atlantic. Nor need other countries remain behind ; in fact, Bulgarians have already begun this new policy of reconstructive armies. It is no small achievement of M. Poincare to have revalorised the fallen franc from a tithe to a fifth of its former value. But why not thus revalorise France too ?—and her rising generation of Frenchmen, through such socially and individually educative labours ! Other countries, through history, have often followed the initiatives of France ; indeed, have often carried them further, and surpassed her : so why not soon throughout the half-ruined Mediterranean, from Spain to Syria and Palestine, where indeed Zionism is so manfully beginning ; and thence again onward, to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, with better schemes than that of the Bagdad Railway, though that will find peaceful uses too. So on again to Persia and desertic Mongolia ; in short, to the re-afforesting, irrigation and gardening of much of this historic storm-centre of the world. Indeed, but a fraction of the foolish war-expenditure of the past century by Britain and Russia on their Asiatic jealousies

would already not a little have renewed that vast desertic zone between them. For such international policy we have simply to replace our backward hunting and otherwise barbarian ruling-classes by fundamentally rural and peasant thinkers, as from Confucius and Zoroaster to such as think like them to-day. We thus transfer our admiration and confidence from an India Office whose heroes have been Lord Curzon, Lord Roberts and now Lord Birkenhead, to men like Sir William Willcocks; who, after sharing in the mastery of the Nile, has planned the renewal of Mesopotamia, and now stands ready for employment in the wholesale regeneration of the vast and yet worthier Bengal, which in a few years he would change from its ruin by malaria into a very garden of the world; and so with its one of the most gifted of populations sending their influence and example throughout the wide world, as their foremost leaders in science and idealism are already doing. Such progress, then, beyond paleotechnic coalmaster and collier in strife, and also beyond our neotechnic arts and sciences as well, are now geo-technic. And even more, since also biotechnic, towards the fullest culture of life, organic and human together. "Culture," in the urban sense, is still but a small affair, and that comparatively rare, since needing for its survival all manner of protective shelters, as from church to chapel, and from school-room and college lecture-room to exhibition, library and gallery, to theatre and hall of music. We are not undervaluing these agencies—indeed, recognising these indispensable shelter-services during the paleotechnic period of mammonism, mechanism and war. Yet these culture-institutions stand out plainly, and reveal their origin and significance, as so largely from Jerusalem, Athens and Rome, as fundamentally also of occupational origins, arising throughout the Mediterranean from the most civilised and civilising of these. Thus notably from fruit-culture; that of the olive especially: and the like is also a main secret of the progress of California beyond that of the older States, though we do not undervalue their abundant apples. Hence Athens rightly idealised the olive-tree, and with it woman's initiative in pickling it green and in pressing it ripe, as brightest of her contributions to Mediterranean life—whence deified as Pallas Athena, still invoked in our halls of learning, though her prime achievement has been too long forgotten, and needs to be declared anew—and even applied. For hence also "the olive-branch of peace."

LET us have done then with pessimistic libels on "human nature," yet also with mere optimistic expectations of peace and progress from conventions of "democracy," or "culture" either. We are here offering suggestive examples of different and more sociological lines of treatment, and as indications of entering a period of bio-social interpretations. Of these, the psychologic sides are also recognised; and all have to be utilised in a more vital education, fundamentally

occupational, as Boy-Scouts are beginning to do ; and still more their later developments, like Woodcraft Chivalry and Kibbo Kift, as also the more progressive schools here and there. Social developments, and their perversions also, thus admit of being plainly worked out, even in detail. Thus for war we see the hunter, as man-hunter, mobilising the woodman for his engineer, as from stockade-building onwards to fort and gate ; and correspondingly to catapult and battering-ram. So, too, he goes to the miner for his arrow-heads and catapult-balls ; as also for his sulphur to mix with the woodman's charcoal and the poor peasant's saltpetre, and so propel bullets, balls and bombs. Again, he brings in the normally gentle shepherds as his nomads, his cavalry ; he incorporates the poorer peasant, perverted into bandit : so all descend upon the richer peasant, as best worth robbing ; and by and by of course for subjugating, then "governing" ; since the annual taxation, which is the essence of this, is far more profitable than rapine. The ancient gold-miner is similarly "civilised," from jewelling to money-making, and so blossoms into financier on his own ; while the fisherman, developed as merchant-venturer, too readily perverts into pirate. Thus, when ruined by the Reformation, which abolished fish on Friday, he turns his attention to the argosies of Spain, and so initiates our naval glories.

ON many lines then, towards which the preceding are but indications, the interpretation of social origins, both for better and for worse, is in progress. With more of this, something at least of vital and constructive reorganisation of society is also plainly practicable, albeit on other lines than those as yet generally current. Of course many more possibilities will be seen, and methods evolved, as sociology advances, and as its experimental applications begin to get adequate trials, and arouse interest and co-operation accordingly. All this is a slower process than confirming peace-pact and voting new cruisers on the same day—surely as yet a record accomplishment ! Yet a thoughtful minority of the present and rising generation of voters can, may, and so should set many things going.*

VI.

WITH all this, however, we are still only at the beginning of our subject, and but indicating some outlines of social studies and interpretations, and practicability of applications. Further studies have to be more continuous ; and, like all science, with fuller and fuller observation. Hence, for the understanding of nature and civilisation, in their respective interactions which are fundamental to all social life, we must begin with Surveys, and not with the customarily abstract generalisations of would-be political economy, whether classical and traditional,

*For various similar interpretations and suggestions, see our "Making of the Future Series" and "Papers for the Present." Leplay House Press, 65 Belgrave Road, S.W. 1.

or currently socialistic, which alike have been costing humanity so dear. We must not, of course, forget that, as a thoughtful sociologist of the last generation put it (was it not Walter Bagehot?) the "laws" of classical political economy largely do apply within the square mile of "the City"; nor do we forget the impressive results from the keen reading of Karl Marx in the British Museum: yet we insist that such presentments are neither extensive enough, nor sufficiently first-hand. So we press for far more concrete surveys, of which Le Play's were the fullest beginnings, and still valuable indications of what we again more fully have to undertake; and for each and every region, every society, every occupation, and its workers and families; and of course of the origin, nature and working of their institutions as well.

WE thus utilise the resources of the geographer, whose trustworthy maps and plans are our initial starting-point, and not anybody's books, however widely authoritative. Surveys thus have to cover our whole civilisation, past and present. Already, as we proceed in this definite way, we begin to discern their useful possibilities; since thence, as region-improvers or town-planners, we proceed to such definite applications as may be, thus showing that Surveys are for Service, and of service. Just as the naturalist surveys all life's forms, and the geologist all earth's rocks, so we our social labyrinths. Our surveys from the Outlook Tower at Edinburgh, and still more from Leplay House, as now here at Montpellier, are but examples of what naturalists have long been doing; and even social geographers before Le Play's time—e.g., STATISTICAL SURVEY OF SCOTLAND. So we may confidently look for such undertakings to extend, and with manifold co-operations, to reasonable completeness, and this on every regional scale, just as any British "Flora" is now practically all-comprehensive. Thus in Montpellier, our nascent surveys find scope, and help towards initiatives. Just as topographic surveys are increasingly well-made in every country, so must our sociological surveys. Hence the need of enlisting allies, as notably teachers and schools; why not by and by in every village? Already the needs of planning suggest survey to every municipality, so why not at length to a University? Even theological seminaries will probably not be last in setting to work. Mr. Charles Booth's monumental SURVEY OF LONDON was admirable, so far as it went, though of course now needing revision, extension and deepening also. This re-survey must go afresh and more fully into the actual lives of typical workers and others, and compare with others in many places all over the world: again as did the magnificent initiative of Le Play, for his OUVRIERS EUROPEENS, and its family budgets and wider interpretations, by which he made the concrete beginnings complementary to the more generalising sociology of Comte. It is a main misfortune of sociology that Comte and Le Play seem to have known nothing of each other, and that their respective disciples and

continuators, with rare exceptions, have not yet come into co-operation ; for the latter found his public mainly in Catholic and more or less conservative circles in France, and the former among minds essentially continuous with those of the French Revolution, albeit at its best. Hence it is the special endeavour of our group, and of a few allies in others also, to combine these two fundamental initiatives of modern sociology, concrete and abstract, as the warp and woof for further weavings. From lifelong labour in these studies we know all such progress is slow ; yet not so slow as when William Smith's first map secured his exclusion from the Geological Society, though that has long ago made amends. Such rate of progress can be, and now is, a little accelerated. Thus a younger William Smith, trained in botanical survey between Dundee and Montpellier regions, produced maps which soon became the practical initiative to the British Ecological Society and its Journal, which is now reobserving and interpreting the vegetation of our islands, and, with progress comparable to that of the Geological Survey in its own field. Our further continuations of such surveys, utilising those of topography, geology, vegetation, &c., towards the corresponding but more difficult and elaborate social survey of country and town, already interest active rural minds ; as notably in Denmark, Switzerland, Ireland, &c., and in France as well, in America too ; so why not everywhere before long ? A good and simple example of correlation of topography, vegetation and occupations, upon the valley sections, with the resultant distribution of villages and towns, is to be found in Dr. Marcel Hardy's distinguished thesis on *THE VEGETATION OF THE HIGHLANDS*, while the recent excellent surveys of Mr. Farquharson, as of Cheshire, Fife, &c., and Miss Tatton's *Leplay House Tours*, are conspicuously carrying such studies further. Most important of all so far, town and regional planning are increasingly demanding such surveys as the basis for anything like adequate designs, as also notably in the United States. Yet for lack of such surveys the reconstruction of Northern France has too much fallen short of what it might have been ; and the like is manifest in the recent plannings and developments of many of our cities. The Survey of the region around New York has of late years been leading in magnitude, and it promises intensive thoroughness as well ; so the simple old planning, of laying out rectangular plots for land speculation and enhancement of building values, is being seriously threatened.*

VII.

So far, then, our study of sociology is not so alarming and difficult as people often think. After all, what are our fullest surveys, but an

*That land speculation is generally very profitable, is a popular myth, based of course on dramatic examples of fortunes made from city areas of exceptionally active development. As executor of a trust, looking for profitable investment compatible with safety, I found the average return from American and Canadian land investments round cities to be estimated only about 4%.

extension (and correlation) of the observations of our daily walks, and essentially requiring open eyes, with questioning and reflection behind them.

STILL, as our observations advance and accumulate, they obviously need putting in order; that is, classifying; for "all knowing is classifying." And as this proceeds, we find ourselves being committed to prolonged studies, and all-round inquiries accordingly. As students of evolution in society, we already see its processes at work in all preliminary fields, and more or less manifest from their surveys. Witness the geologist, since Lyell especially, and the botanist and zoologist, since Darwin especially; and next that interaction of all these, which Darwin also so well inquired into, as not only from inorganic environment upon all forms of life, or even the reactions of plant, animal and man upon the inorganic world, but also upon each other. Earth, plant and animal, and man in his societies, have thus all to be observed; not merely as they seem to stand, but as they have moved and changed, and are now moving and changing: and all these in their complex interaction. Thus appear many lines of inquiry, of which each has occupied fruitful lifetimes, and now more than ever; hence such enlagement of the intricacies of the evolution drama may seem at times of fatigue, discouragement and timidity, well-nigh hopelessly vast and complicated. Yet courage returns, since fresh light is ever appearing. We have already an elemental understanding of life, and this both organic and human; and this can readily be explained, though experience shows that it is not easily assimilated by the present specialists of the mechanistic culture, and still less by the perverts of the pecuniary culture, for which a man is still essentially viewed as a mechanism, and that simply stoked, by hire.

TOWARDS better understanding, and proceeding from simple to complex, and known towards unknown, first ask—What is Organic Life? Our would-be biological teaching (that of the great physicians excepted) has long, and too long, been static and analytic mainly; since based on the dissection of the dead body, first of man, and next of other organisms, so taking each to pieces, at best as an intelligent engineer may do with an unfamiliar mechanism, and not simply as a child breaking up its toy, though that, too, may be an investigation so far scientific. Something of this analysis, even much of it, has to be done; yet only after we have first done our best to observe and understand the organism while living. For Biology surely aims at understanding and appreciating the Bio-drama; and not merely at a classified enumeration of its *Dramatis Personæ* at the outset, nor yet a *post-mortem* enquiry after the tragedy has closed with death. So with all and due respect to our older masters, classifiers since Linnaeus, anatomists since Vesalius, and earlier ones too, we must no longer leave out the life-drama; though that we too often tend to lose sight

of ; for the expulsion of life from every subject is still too much the predominating habit in well-nigh every branch of education. It has thus taken a long time to reach a clear description of the process of life. Bichat's *SUM OF THE FORCES THAT RESIST DEATH* is true so far as it goes ; yet it is too simply the thought of a war-period. Herbert Spencer's *ADJUSTMENT OF INTERNAL TO EXTERNAL RELATIONS* is better, yet still too simple ; since not sufficiently expressing the twofold aspect of life's adjustments, those for the reception of outward stimulus from the environment, and those of responsive activity, reacting on environment in turn. In his *PSYCHOLOGY*, Spencer made more of this elemental process of stimulus-reception and response, called reflex action ; while the co-ordination of such reflexes by the organism as a going concern, has been not only a matter of long research, but ever needs more. Still, the elemental formulation of life is clear, as Environment functioning on organism, yet Organism functioning on environment ; say then in brief (alphabetic) notation, Efo/Ofe. But here already appears—as obviously in ourselves and higher animals, and thence indeed downward until Bose reaches the plants—and inseparable from the processes of life we have been accustomed to think of as simply physiological—some demonstrable beginnings of psychic processes also. First, and most obviously, an element of sensation, notably as to light, but also to the many other stimuli he applies. Further, he claims to prove something of feeling ; and that even the plant of his experiment accumulates something of experience, like even very simple animals also.

If so, our biology and our psychology can no longer be studied so separately as in their respective history, but now increasingly together. Heretofore in fact the treatment of each of these twin studies of the aspects and phenomena of life has been deeply divided asunder by the impressive phenomenon of death ; since with this, psychic processes disappear, leaving only the body to decompose, or at most to be dissected or preserved. Hence biology has so long and often fallen from its vital interests to the physical and static level, of anatomy, classification, &c., so far of course necessary, and deeply interesting, yet none the less not biology proper, but its preliminaries, of necrography. For his own species man has long conceived the after-death psyche as simply disembodied, yet this in religious or meta-psychical thought, so passing beyond our ordinary biological and social studies in life, and of life.

VIII.

A SURVEY of present social life, with its conditions and their outcomes, may best begin with these at their simplest, and utilise all it can of retrospect. So let us start here from the rural life of agricultural communities, simply stabilised as we can still find them in the East, and with clear traditions of them in the West as well.

WE must obviously begin with the elemental chord of Social Life, Place, Work and Folk ; respectively geographical, economic and anthropological ; yet these not separated, as the custom so long has been, between Geographical, Economic and Anthropological Societies, or the corresponding University departments. For in this way these have been too largely and long confined to separate and static presentments ; as on maps in atlas for the first ; as "labour and capital" for the second ; and with skulls and implements, or folk-lore, for the third. Some inter-relation of these has of course never been denied ; yet these studies so far too much lack that careful co-ordination of all three lines of enquiry, which can only be obtained by starting with the given society in its full life and activity, and so with that of mind as well as body. In fact, there is no simpler way of getting rid, once and for all, of that perplexity which still so commonly prevails as to the nature and aims of Sociology, with its various learned societies, and their yet more varied individual workers, than this way of approaching and understanding it—as the observant study of societies, with their Place, Work and Folk inseparably unified in and throughout life. Hence, in fact, this and other sociological societies are practically enrolled from these of geographical, economic and anthropological interests, who increasingly see inter-relations between their studies : and also from those who realise and enquire into the psychological aspects of life as well. Let us begin, then, with this line of study ; and see how this union of geographic, economic and anthropological interests works ; and next how it works in the relevant psychology too, point by point.

ASSUMING, yet leaving aside for the present, the earliest gathering and hunting beginnings of social life in its paleotechnic phases, let us start with the old agricultural community ; and that simply stabilised, as we still see it in the East, and as we find many traces and survivals of it in the West as well.

LET us now enter any such community, not simply as geographers surveying its position and area ; or as economists enquiring into its land tenure, its capital and labour ; or as anthropologists seeking skulls and measurements, acquiring languages, or seeking out folk-traditions ; but as one of themselves, henceforth humanly and socially interested in appreciating and sharing its whole life ; as, of course, the best of all such travellers have ever tried to do, and so far been sociologists indeed, in many regions. Let our identification with such community-life, however, be more thorough still, until we fully feel at one with our fellow-men, and they with us ; till we can imagine ourselves fully incorporated, albeit keeping our purpose of scientific understanding as well.

WHAT, then, of their essential chord of life—Place, Work and Folk—which we have now entered into, and are sharing ?

OUR Place is familiarly known, within its limits, and its surroundings also, in a general way. Our work-Place—our cultivated fields—very thoroughly, by long observation; and thus also their characteristic natural advantages, for their appropriate uses, their particular kinds of place-Work. Homes and Village obviously make up our folk-Place, with its due localisations also. Work, as we have just seen, is conditioned by natural advantages, for place-Work: and it also disciplines us into our occupation, our folk-Work; here essentially as peasant-cultivators, though accessory occupations also naturally arise as well. In the main Work, of cultivation, we recognise labour and its direction. The harvest yields to all their maintenance, their real wages; and capital is thus also maintained for future seasons—as ploughs, oxen and seed. There are few or none of unemployed, save by age too small or great, illness, &c., and these are normally maintained like the rest.

THE Folk are obviously of both sexes and all ages, from babehood to senescence; so with their respective social situations, as of parentage and families, with authority of the elders, and influence of women. Of course we are also essentially work-Folk, and obviously place-Folk, whether native, or accepted as neighbours.

IN summary, then, each note of our elemental life-chord—Place, Work, Folk—has thus yielded us a triad—Place with work-Place, and folk-Place; Work arising from place-Work, and teaching us our folk-Work; and Folk obviously as work-Folk and place-Folk.

THESE elemental inter-relations of our social life are important: for we have not been dissecting our community-life apart, but keeping it together, and yet also discerning its further inter-relations, and these as six; which we soon see form minor chords with the main one. Hence for clearness sake, we can now tabulate in an orderly way the three essentials of our main chord, and its six inter-relations, and read them every way, seeing how the three factors of their main chord, when placed in oblique descent, also locate their six inter-relations:—

PLACE	place-Work	place-Folk
work-Place	WORK	work-Folk
folk-Place	folk-Work	FOLK

THUS, with due clearness, we have now taken stock of our ideas, and so tabulated them in an orderly way. Endeavours to change this will show the convenience of placing the three main factors, of the essential life-chord, in the above oblique order, here indicated with capitals; since thus clearly showing their six inter-relations, which may be read first in vertical order, yet horizontally also: and so understood as expressing the very texture of the web of social life.

NOTE, too, how the geographer, as traveller, interested above all in Place, follows his own lines of observation, noted both vertically on the left, and horizontally above. The anthropologist, of Folk, first observes its vertical and horizontal lines also; and the economist, at the centre, has similarly his four associated fields, above, below, and on either hand. Yet the observations of each are now seen correlated with and into those of the others. Our claim to correlate our geography, economics and anthropology into elementary sociology is now graphically clear.

WHAT, now, of the corresponding Social Psychology? That this is here implicit, the reader may have already noted: but it soon becomes explicit also. We observe Place with our ordinary observant Sense; Work especially gives us Experience; and with Folk obviously comes Feeling. So now all these can next be seen as inter-related.

THUS, is it not in our work-Place that our sense becomes experienced, and in our folk-Place that it becomes tinged, and even dyed, with feeling, as Home? And so on in due co-ordination, (and thus indeed on co-ordinates), as this lower half of our table shows:—

feeling Sense	feeling Experience	FEELING
experienced Sense	EXPERIENCE	experienced Feeling
SENSE	sense Experience	sensed Feeling

At first sight, of course, such tabulation looks strange and cold: yet if the reader will have a little patience with it, the completed summary of the fundamentals of human life will stand out clear. For as the upper half of the diagram was above seen as a simple yet comprehensive and orderly summary of the web of everyday acts in life, so now this lower half outlines its subjective side, its everyday facts, and these in exact mirror-relation to the former. Its apparent coldness, too, passes off as we understand it, looking at the acts and facts together, pair by pair. Thus folk-Place with its feeling-Sense constitute Home; while place-Folk with sensed Feeling express the Home-Folks, united by family love and neighbourly feeling.

It is obviously in our work-Place that we have experienced Sense, and there only; the peasant in his field, the mariner in his boat, and not vice-versa.

In learning any craft or art, say music, and in its work of "practice," we first need some sense-Experience, not to mistake our keys or strings. With Experience we come to play through our piece; but only with feeling-Experience comes expression and mastery. Prentice and journeyman, in each and every occupation, have to make such ascent to become masters.

FOLK and Feeling have obviously to be at one in normal family and social life ; and we have above seen the unity of place-Folk and sense-Feeling in its further intimacy. And for the remaining association, of work-Folk with experienced Feeling, is it not they above all who have laboured and suffered, and at times joyed together as well ?

IX.

So far, then, our simple community, at work in its daily life of acts and facts. We do not forget that even the simplest of communities have among them thoughts reaching beyond these ; but the religious, intellectual, artistic and poetic imagination and creativeness will be considered later, and not without appreciation. But for the present preliminaries, enough to see them in their everyday life, as it has gone on through a long past and that persistently, until disturbed, as sooner or later. And essentially by some form of what we may broadly call Invasion from other sources—since though often at first religious, and still oftener commercial, it very readily, sooner or later, becomes warlike. Thus see how China came to need its Great Wall, yet found even that insufficient ; and hence has had repeated dynasties of external origin, up to that of recent memory ; as also more of Western penetrations—religious, commercial and militant—than she evidently desires. See also the many external intrusions which so much make up Indian history ; as from the penetration of the Aryans onwards ; as later from Macedonian and Persian conquests, from Mongols, from Moslems also in many incursions, up to the empire of the great Mogols, and followed by its disturbed decadence. Note also the incoming of Europeans, first of course as traders, like the Portuguese, the French, and next the East India Company : yet each also in succession founding more and more of Empire, up to the present development of that of Britain. Similarly in ancient Europe see the Roman conquests, through Gaul and to Britain. Or again later in our island, the Norman Conquest. So, as most familiar to us, take this last for one or two further lines of social interpretation, and these throwing light on our contemporary world, which it is the problem of sociology more and more clearly to understand.

X.

THE Norman victory, as so commonly in war, was followed by active rapine. Yet after resistance is crushed, passions cool ; and it becomes discerned that instead of killing the peasant-geese, it is better to let live, and thus appropriate as thoroughly as may be the golden outcome, harvest by harvest. Hence Domesday Book, that monumental encyclopædia of the possibilities of taxation : a veritably classic survey, in which, as the rural world so particularly knows, all known forms and varieties of government so thoroughly agree ; in fact, to such an extent, so far as the peasant is concerned, that their other differences

matter little, save in quantity of exactions. But taxation involves tax-collectors, as from Joseph in Egypt to Finance Ministers to-day; and these with their ever-growing minor staff, whom Romans called publicans, or we bureaucrats. And as these must write records and count figures, if not also give receipts, the "three R's" achieve a new importance. This is not a little impressive to the peasant world; which thereafter, as here in France ever since I can remember, submits to this learned dignity, as of "Mandarins"—recognises their resultant costliness, along with that of other spenders, as "Budgetivores"—and appreciates their social stability, and their accessibility to all appeals, as "Ronds de Cuir."

TAXATION steadily aggrandises the central authority, and its military forces. These are maintained in peace-time, not only as in reserve for wars, but for internal order, as so conspicuously against peasant or other revolts, long and often imminent, and sometimes active, albeit usually unsuccessful; witness their tardy success even in France, or Ireland; and like struggles, even more lately, in other countries. Central authority is also increasingly supported by a corresponding development of Law, and yet more of lawyers. The conception of the taxable region, as "the State," thus arises; and not only in fact, but in law. State and Law thus command acceptance, as the most convincing of abstractions; and the more when concretely centred upon the authoritative impressiveness of kingship, which the potent sanctions of religion are also well-utilised to strengthen. The spiritual conception, ideal, and policy of a unified Christendom on one hand, and the temporal strengths of regional feudalism on the other, thus gradually give way before the State, with its centralising Law. So in these and other ways, aided of course especially by foreign wars—for this purpose so expedient, as King Henry taught his son—there also emerges the temporal fact, and the spiritual conception, of the Nation; so in both ways as the main and supreme unity, and knowing no law beyond; hence intense Nationalistic feeling accordingly. This became vividly expressed even in medieval history, and onwards, as from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, notably in Scotland, Switzerland, &c.; and found its most illustrious expression in Jeanne d'Arc, in the fifteenth. Her renewed cult, not only to saintship, but to virtual goddesshood of French nationalism to-day, is thus but the fullest case of the strengthening of the militarist origins, and of the increasing State conceptions, of each growing Nation, supported also on the spiritual side. This incorporation into political thought of the older religious attitude of mind creates respective tribal goddesses—Britannia and Erin, Germania and Columbia, as now even more and fully Italia. Further examples of the same cult are not far to seek. Even the current Indian song of the Motherland ("Bande Materam!"), thus owes more to European example than its singers always realise.

XI.

EVERY historian worth the name is wont to reflect and comment upon his annals ; and this often with fresh interpretations, of politics and economics, of religion or philosophy, or again of psychology of individuals or groups. Yet there is still room for the sociologist, who profits by all these, to utilise his further concepts. Of these Le Play's, of occupational significance, so often applied above, is but one ; and another is Comte's clear distinction of temporal and spiritual powers, with their people and chiefs, their intellectuals and expressionals, and their changes, yet correlations, despite strains or even conflicts, in each fresh phase of society. Not simply acceptant of such contributions as they stand, we must endeavour to clarify and develop them as far as may be, so as to correlate and interpret social processes more clearly. Here Spengler does good service in emphasising such correlations, and with fresh instances : yet further clearness is necessary. Can we not outline this a step farther ?

HERE recall Comte's famous LAW OF THREE STATES, i.e., his view of man's different and changing interpretations of nature and civilisation, in terms of progress : from (1) " Theological " explanations, in terms of Divine Will, through (2) " Metaphysical " abstractions, such as Nature, Providence, Rights, &c., to (3) " Positive." John Stuart Mill re-expressed these terms, as of theories first volitional, next abstractional, and finally scientific. Comte also pointed out that these phases of thought are also accompanied by characteristic modes of action, preponderatingly Military, Political and Industrial respectively ; and hence felt encouraged to look forward towards an orderly progress of Humanity, as thus increasingly realisable. This doctrine was fully accepted by most of his disciples, and with great hopes of this speedy progress towards its ideals of Industry and Science, and for Humanity accordingly. The frequent rejection of this whole doctrine, as so often by our professors of philosophy, is often ascribed to their frequent attachment to earlier systems, and these for the most part " metaphysical " and abstractional. But a more serious difficulty—far less manifest in Comte's time (a period favourable to his hopes)—is presented by the recent—and too much persistent—conditions of contemporary society. For did not the War involve the world more fully in its militant grip than ever in history before ?—and even with assuring convictions of divine support for every nation on either side ? And now—despite many worthy endeavours, in which the League of Nations does not stand alone—we have too little if any real abatement of armaments towards new wars ; but rather the reverse, since now in far more destructive forms. State powers, and their centralisation, have thus been farther increasing ; as always through wars, and popular faith in nationalisms and imperialisms have been intensified and extended. Both legal and bureaucratic powers increase ; they

practically adjust public instruction, at all class levels, towards their recruitment and their strengthening. Industry suffers widely—and, like business, it is pursued far more for gain than for service; as with wasteful advertisement accordingly. Rival systems of political economy, at bottom no less abstractional than are legal doctrines of “rights,” increasingly strive for domination; and with varying success in different countries. Above all, the business of controlling business—Finance—is ever becoming yet more nation-enthraling, indeed, all but world-dominant. Under these circumstances, the interaction of these “Three States” (of Comte’s generalisation) all in evidence so actively, in thought and action alike, plainly need to be reinterpreted, and especially as to their presentment by Comte as more or less independent, and viewed by him in obvious succession, as progress.

COMTE’s initial proposition, as to this succession, is not by any means entirely to be denied. For we no longer commonly expect to induce rain by appeals to heaven; and we interpret the thunderstorm as an electrical product of meteorological disturbance: so have lost faith in Jupiter Tonans, and use his energies for more practical purposes. Nor do we submit to diseases as due to a metaphysico-theological Providence, but increasingly cure them, or even prevent them. And so on: science has thus so far been providing naturalistic explanations for much of what previously seemed supernatural; for abstract entities of course also, even if as yet incompletely: and all this by extending observation, even to surveys and diagnoses, and these first naturalistic, and now also social: hence with more and more of fresh and concrete interpretations, increasingly verifiable in experiment when possible, and towards applications in action; and all in progress towards a scientific cosmogony in general. So much so, that men of science or its applications, tend too confidently to rely on “Progress”—seldom noticing that they in turn are falling back, since in abstraction, on an optimistic hypothesis, not yet adequately verified in social evolution.

XII.

TOWARDS clearing up a step farther this vast problem of the process of social life and its developments—and its controversies too—let us again review such main historic changes as we can. Return then to the disturbance of agricultural life, as above outlined; though this none the less persists, since of fundamental support for all extant forms of society. We nowadays see this basal rural world as substantially of peasants, with their old social life disturbed and overpowered by warlike superiorities; and so more or less over-taxed and made impoverished “subjects” of a—to them—substantially external State, entrenched in its Metropolis; and with this far better equipped as to industry, trade and finance alike, so each with its further

pressures ; and its allurements also. With these material changes, they become more and more dominated by the corresponding rule of metropolitan ideas also ; as often in religion, and still more under law ; and even with more or less infiltration of science. Such changes appear everywhere in the west, even in this slow-moving rural world ; hence, in brief, we may broadly consider them in terms of Comte's Three States ; as

(A) <i>Military</i>	: (B) <i>Political</i>	: (C) <i>Industrial</i>
Theological	Abstractional	Scientific

NEXT, to do Comte's doctrine the fullest justice, let us try the presentation of these " Three States," conceived by him as so many successive phases, in an ascending series, as three steps. Yet first permit here, as towards fuller clearness, a graph of general logic, easy of application, and fertile too : viz., that when we have any series of ideas capable of intelligible relation in any way—even two ideas—say as thesis and antithesis—they readily suggest inter-relations, each more or less modifying one another. That is, they suggest more than a simple settlement, as synthesis, as if A & B should simply give AB ; but rather two mutual modifications, as bA and aB. Thus if A be white, and B black, bA is a darkened white, i.e., light-grey ; and aB is lightened black, i.e., dark-grey. This simple summary—easiest possible

of graphs— $\begin{array}{c|c} bA & B \\ \hline A & aB \end{array}$ is thus the simplest of introductions to

Hegel's logic ;—with its thesis and antithesis, not simply combined into a synthesis, and finished once and for all ; but yielding us two complemental ideas, in which each main term has so far united with the other, and so far modified it, yet with the original difference not extinguished, nor necessarily equalised. Our light-grey and dark-grey, bA and aB, are so far synthetic products ; yet complemental, and thus new counter-syntheses ; with reappearing elements of opposition : in fact our thesis and antithesis so far renewed in this apparent synthesis ; and each counter-synthesis in its own way intelligible and rational.

BUT if we have next three ideas to relate, A, B, and C (like Place, Work and Folk above ; or Sense, Experience and Feeling), we have seen how these give rise to three new pairs of such related ideas—six in all, and nine as a whole—viz.—

cA	cB	C
bA	B	bC
A	aB	aC

SIMILARLY, if we have four main ideas (say, for science ; Mathematical, Physical, Biological, Social) we shall find twelve fresh inter-relations to these, so sixteen squares in all. Thus, indeed, we can go on, in fact, throughout the multiplication-table : though happily the above

goes far enough for ordinary purposes ; as even for reading Hegel, or Comte either. Indeed, we are told by one of the adepts in Einstein's complex and formidable marshalling of his mathematical ideas, that this is fundamentally but the simple game of A B C above ; * arranged we see, like the nine squares of our child's game of " Noughts and Crosses." Hence all in principle surely less perplexing than are Crossword Puzzles, with their innumerable squares !

So now for its application to Comte's three states outlined above ; let us see what order and intelligibility this graph can give us. For simplicity's sake, let us begin with his two first phases, each paired, viz. :—

$$(A) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Military} \\ \text{Theological} \end{array} \right. \quad \text{and} \quad (B) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Political} \\ \text{Abstractional} \end{array} \right.$$

THESE when graphically arranged, and inter-related, give us, in principle and outline—

$$\begin{array}{c|c} bA & B \\ \hline A & aB \end{array}$$

so in general application

<i>Politised Militarism</i>	<i>POLITICAL</i>
<i>Abstractised Theological</i>	<i>ABSTRACTIONAL</i>
bA	B
A	aB
<i>MILITARY</i>	<i>Militarised Political</i>
<i>THEOLOGICAL</i>	<i>Theological Abstractional</i>

AND next, more concretely—

<i>NATION—EMPIRE</i>	<i>STATE & INDIVIDUAL</i>
Nationalism	LAW, with " Rights "
e.g., " Dieu et mon Droit ! " " Gott mit Uns ! " " America ! America ! " &c.	e.g., Liberté, Egalité, &c.
<i>MILITARISM (to Rapine)</i>	<i>BUREAUCRACY (to Taxation)</i>
<i>THEOLOGICAL authority</i>	<i>PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, &c.</i>

*For the mathematico-physical group of sciences, and even their applications as well, the use of Graphics has long been customary, and is ever increasing. Thus how better express the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, or the phases of the moon ? How explain without these the concrete facts of geography, and the technique of making a map ? How else conceive the composition of a chemical body, or the contrast to Dalton's simple atom, of the complex one due to the radiologists, and with their differing views of this. So too the musician's notation has long surpassed the engineer's. But in biology and psychology, history and economics, we are still too tardily following ; in ethics and philosophy, with their still yet greater difficulties, we are but beginning. Yet in these complex studies—indeed why not most of all ?—we have much to gain from this orderly charting of thought, since for clearness, accuracy, and speed alike.

INDUSTRY does not simply go on alone, in its workshops and factories, even in its non-militant productivities. It increasingly requires transport, and it depends on Trade; so that this, as Business, becomes more profitable, and so tends more and more not only to serve industry, but to dominate it. Indeed, business is not merely an industry of transport: it becomes a compound of this with Political systems, which are also specially interested, and often become authoritative, as regards transport and trade, witness railway regulations, protection, &c.

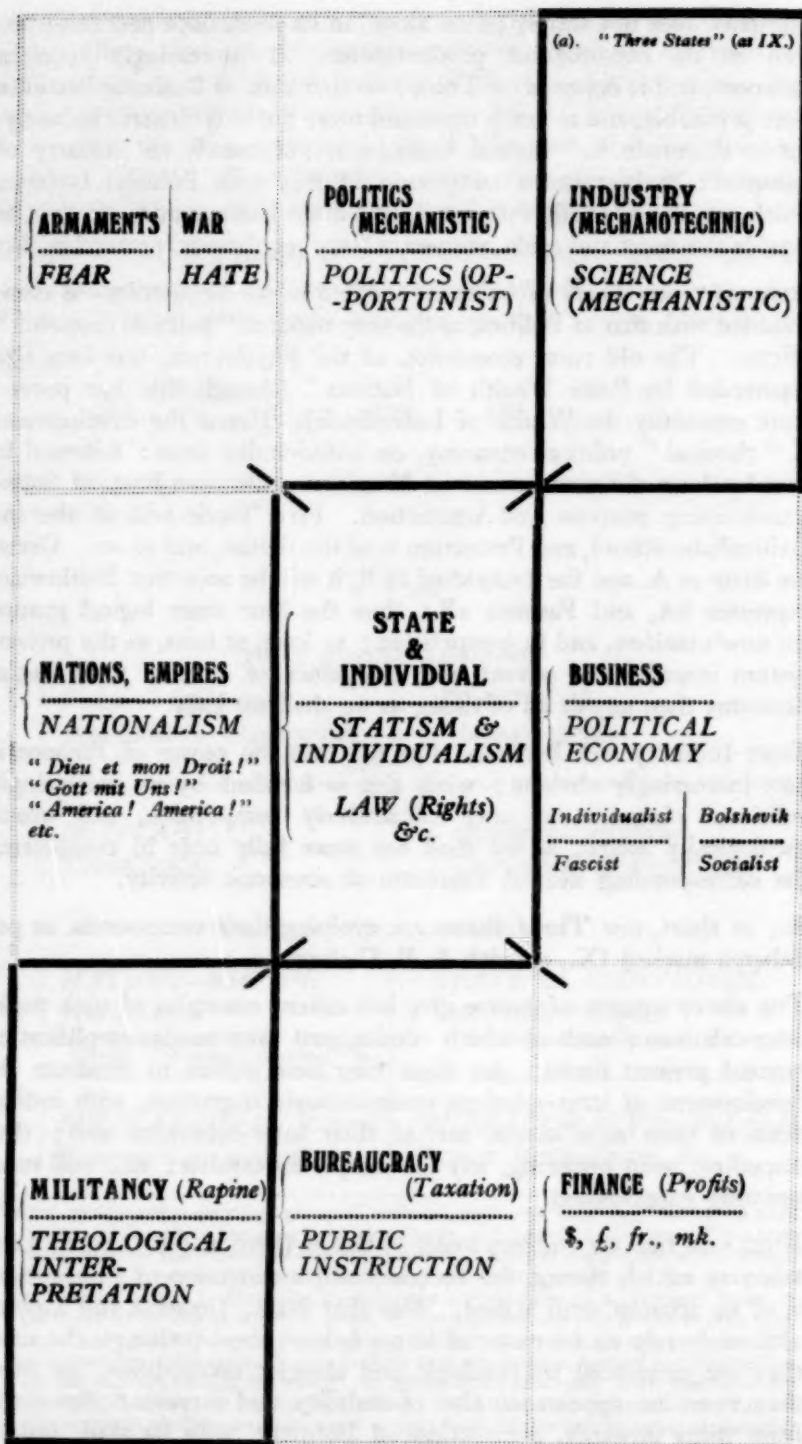
SIMILARLY the theory of industry and business—Economics—is compounded with that of Politics, as the very name of "political economy" affirms. The old rural economics, of the Physiocrats, was long ago superseded by "the Wealth of Nations" (though this has proved more especially the Wealth of Individuals). Hence the development of "classical" political economy, on individualist lines: followed in time by the socialist economics of Marx, on proletarian lines, of State-transforming purpose and interaction. Free Trade was of the individualistic school, and Protection is of the Statist, and so on. Given the State as A, and the Individual as B, it will be seen that Bolshevism expresses bA , and Fascism aB ; thus the four main logical groups are now manifest, and in competition; so long, at least, as the present system impedes the advent and acceptance of a more truly Social Economy than any or all of these, as we shall see later.

THAT Industry and Business alike fall into the power of Finance is now increasingly obvious; while this is fortified by its increasingly volitional elements, at once combatively competitive, and quasi-theologically sacred, as we shall see more fully later in considering the corresponding needed Direction of economic activity.

So, in short, our Three States are evolving their compounds, as per Schema marked IX., or with A, B, C above.

THE above squares of course give but salient examples of such social inter-relations; each of which admits, and even needs, amplification beyond present limits; yet these may here suffice to illustrate the development of inter-relations conspicuously important, with indications of their significance, and of their inter-coherence also; thus impeding, even opposing, any too simple succession; and still more resisting supersession.

NOTE now that the military order of things (here, as per Comte's Law, taken as initial, though for us essentially an invasion of rural order), is of no account until armed. Also that State, Taxation and Law all ultimately rely on its material forces behind them; though the more they are reinforced by theologic and abstract conceptions, the more they wear the appearance also of stability, and increase. But arms, from flints onwards, are matters of Industry, with its skill, and its



IX.

technical developments ; and so also, in the measure of its mechanical and physical knowledge, increasingly positive and scientific. Hence then, with Industry and Science, we complete the triad of Comte's Three States : but for these we have next to note down their remaining inter-relations as before.

XIII.

HERE, then, we do not find the alleged simple succession, by replacement, of three phases of thought, with their related lines of action. What we see before us—not simply in graphic logic, but in the real life it merely takes note of and tabulates—is a triadic system of interdependences, strengthened into a ninefold whole. No doubt the centre of gravity of this whole system may change, and actually has done so, is even now doing so. Thus no one denies the increasing ponderance of Industry, and of its associated Science also : yet not as their complete preponderance, anticipated by Comte, but in interaction with previous stages. Thus the simple mechanical counting—(and weighing)—machine known as ballot-box or urn, expresses a new phase of Politics—that of Politics of Party, measured in its numbers, and thus in its civil strength. This eminently constitutional device thus abates the social tensions, for the time : and, periodically applied, it prevents unrest, which might otherwise accumulate, to explosion in turmoil, or even to civil war. The strength of parliamentary yet party government, in fact “the British Constitution,” thus strengthened and with its example long followed by other States, is too familiar to be outlined in further detail. Enough however here, if we see all this as an adjustment of earlier State authority by and to the industrial age ; and how it strengthens political organisation—first no doubt by and of individuals, into clear-cut voting-parties—but also of such State as they thus modify, and go on modifying.

SIMILARLY the powers of technical Industry, which began of old with the lance and arrow-maker, and progressed to the sword-smith, are now immeasurably increased in alliance with the (still basal) volitional life, as Military ; whence artillery to dreadnoughts, submarines to aeroplanes ; while these vast potentialities of would-be-static armaments sooner or later become dynamic, as War.

WE are thus making fair trial of Comte's Three States, and even carrying their general presentment further than before. We are thus obtaining a more realistic presentment of the main conditions and developments of society, and these increasing since Comte's day. Adjusting and utilising his recognition, which none can deny, that our society does present militant, political and industrial activities, and these accompanied by volitional, abstractional and scientific thought, can we any longer affirm these pairings as simply and

separately in way of succeeding each other in time, and through their successively better adapted survival of the tests of life, as Comte so forcibly maintained? All can see, as a matter of modern and recent history, and of present conditions of thought and action, that Comte's sanguine hopes have not been fulfilled; indeed, many would say rather the opposite. Even the most convinced Positivist now admits that Comte's hope of social evolution outran its actual course, as we have all seen; yet the Positivist retains his optimism, by projecting these hopes further into the future, much as did early Christians when the end of their world did not come to pass as they expected, nor yet again at the year 1000. But our Positivist has still to face the above interweavings of the Three States, made as fairly and as clearly as we can. For this brings out, (1) the fact that these Three States—albeit accepted and followed by individual thinkers (witness Stuart Mill, Littré, and many others), and by groups following these—are not yet, socially speaking, substantially superseding their predecessors, as was hoped. Indeed (2) that despite their apparent intellectual incompatibility with each other, the very contrary has yet taken place; for they have proved, in our actual condition of society as we see it, amazingly compatible in practice. In fact, we see, step by step, the actual process of their continued development, and into a firmly inter-coherent network, through their interaction, even to inter-weaving. We therefore submit the present scheme of this ninefold web (that marked IX. in corner), as more truly a presentment of our actual state of society, so dominant throughout the western world, and now increasingly of influence and adoption beyond its limits as well.

THE present scheme is obviously far from giving any full, much less detailed, outline of contemporary social evolution. It merely indicates how what naturally seemed to Comte and others three separate stages in succession, has actually proved to persist, in each and all its triad of paired ideas, in the very structure and functioning of recent and contemporary society; and that it is this co-adjustment which has become substantially predominant, and seems still far from exhausted in its growth and development. We have here attempted but the first outlines of these main inter-relations; though each one of these could occupy a chapter of its own, and with references well-nigh innumerable. But enough here, if this general inter-development be intelligible, so inviting the reader to test it further for himself; and this in terms of his own experience of its fields of activity, in active life and in thought.

DESPITE this general integration of the Three States into their present broadly comprehensive unification of social thought and action—and also despite the practical predominance of this, so readily verifiable in past and present history—it is not to be overlooked that it is also

a state of conflict, and this in every one of its departments ; with severe and ever severer struggles, in all fields of its action, and of its thought alike. But this again our schema indicates in outline, with space for each conflict in detail. Despite its apparent general coherence, it thus manifests every possible departmental—and so collective—instability. Our social image (or group of images) with its head of gold, and its no less manifest brass and iron, has thus but feet of clay. Strains of all kinds are everywhere manifest, as not only from external wars to internal social and political tensions. And these may pass beyond into party conflicts, and even to insurrections, or civil wars. Witness also the strains throughout industry, business and finance, and again between these ; and with their political interactions, at times even towards war. Thus no enduring co-operation here seems possible ; hence the peaceful development of life, whether for nations, communities or individuals, remains too much a matter of compromises, necessarily temporary, if not simply of material restraint. This material surge, of deeply anarchic energies, is also reflected into, and intensified by, the even more varied and fluctuating struggles and tensions of the contemporary fields of thought ; amid which too little progress towards synthesis yet appears. But if our present intellectual condition be thus so much of eclectic choice, of compromise, or of would-be-settled conventions, what can at present be hoped for our contemporary society as a whole ?

So far, then, our outlook over this vast field, embodying so much of past and recent historic evolution, and working out the present main web of social life into the pattern before us. Hence we cannot but feel it does not as a whole so fully justify the optimism of "progress," which it has given in so many of its various departments and their development. In fact—unless the preceding outline-exposition be unsound, and its graphic schema be proved in error—is not the pessimistic criticism of our general state of things—so abundant in past literature, especially since the advent of the industrial age, and again actively in evidence—more seriously to be considered ? Indeed, which of these fields of action or thought can we accept as really satisfactory, or even reasonably hopeful ?

XIV.

MUCH may no doubt be urged, and that fairly enough, towards a more hopeful view. Thus the specific evils, so manifest in our society—as poverty and disease, ignorance and folly, vice and crime—are all being struggled with, as seldom if ever before. War, far from being granted undisputed sway, incurs criticism and protest, as even Finance itself. The State and the Individual have each their critics, as also of their politics and their economics ; so for taxation, law and administration, and even their educational efficiency so far as well ; and all

with manifold efforts, often psychologically justified, if not so much socially successful.

MANY industries, if not all, seem advancing : all the arts and crafts have something to show, indeed much : and, amid the copious and varied flow from the presses of the world, there seems to be more of value than any have time or powers to appreciate as it deserves. Good-will is not far to seek—indeed where, even at worst, does not something of it appear?—even to honour among thieves ! And so on : there can be no denying that we are living amid a ferment of aspirations and endeavours, and in all manner of directions.

BUT is this ferment enough—or even likely to become enough—sufficiently to improve our main web of contemporary society, if this be really as coherent a web as our examination of it indicates ? In so far as we are reaching new viewpoints, even creating new values, are not these also too much being obscured, or even lost, amid this interlocking of the main factors and outcomes of our predominant type of civilisation ? For, after all, are not our many endeavours—even be their departmental contributions of all the value they hope and claim—themselves held firmly within the present general system, and its firmly coherent network of conditions ? Is not here the explanation of so much of pessimism in current thought ? And even of that fierce resolve, among the increasing youth of revolutionary spirit, towards shattering the whole existing system, and this without any adequately designed reconstructive policy—indeed, too often but in vague hope, to see what may thereafter emerge ?

It is already a very old and familiar experience throughout history, that force comes in where and when reason fails. But what evidence is there that such crude technique, from whatever side it has been or may be applied, is of real efficacy ? And surely how much more the very reverse ; that is of its releasement of new evils, new obstacles, and these among the longest enduring ones.

BUT if neither current ameliorative efforts, nor still less destructive ones, can satisfy us, what remains ? Widespread discouragement is hence prevalent, and thus explained ; whether it be deepened to despair, or remain passive, as aimless indifference. Here is that " Atonie " which Charles Maurras—now so influential on many of the youth of his country, if not beyond—describes as the most characteristic weakness of our times. Yet against this, as against the appeal to force, there is one possible remedy before us—that of further thinking ; of course through further observation and interpretation, aided and tested by further efforts. For as such fresh thoughts and endeavours go on faster, and see farther, hope may return ; and a fuller morale of action will appear, and intensify as well.

XV.

TIME now to try this. Recall, that our preceding presentation set out with what we must now briefly reaffirm as the essential criticism of the prevailing scheme and structure of our modern society. Our criticism was, in short, that, alike in parts or as a whole, the activities of our present social, economic and political system, are essentially on mechanistic levels, and not adequately upon the vital ones, as were those of the early and too simple rural society it has overpowered. It is no doubt much that our industrial age should be progressing, as from its paleotechnic levels towards more neotechnic ones: yet these remain mechanotechnic; and so with their corresponding and great advances of sciences mainly still on the same level—hence but mathematical or mechanical, physical or chemical essentially.* If so, a clear way of escape from the present order and its evils thus appears. It is to consider whether a better order, vitally (and not merely logically, or mechanistically) coherent, can be conceived; in terms of the promotion and better understanding of life? Necessarily now upon fuller levels than those of the older rural world, yet broadly continuous with it—which thus should again reabsorb its conquerors, as has happened ere now in history.

WHAT we here need—for the understanding, respect and care of life, as the condition of a better order—is of course far more than “the Return to Nature” of Rousseau’s or later appeals; even were every one of our youth an “Emile,” and all boy-scouts were a-roaming, as the Youth Movement of Germany seems so largely doing. Yet such are hopeful symptoms of needed changes of self-education, far beyond the “Meccano” of so many nurseries and play-rooms, let alone the ball-games of the school exercise-yard, be that as large as Eton’s. Nothing short of a well-organised, and thus individually adapted, occupational education-experience, and this both up and down our valley region, from snows to sea and back again, will now satisfy us: for we already see such results as justify fullest endeavours. In such experience the promotion and protection of life becomes appreciated and is fundamental; yet the also needed mechanistic experiences come into their true perspective, no longer as destructive to life, but accessory to its fuller protection and development.

THUS experimentally, as our schoolboys and students take even the smallest part in garden-work and its extension, as by reclamation of

*Comte’s personal view, plea, and teaching of science of course fully included biology and sociology; and he hoped and pled for the incorporation of these into the whole thought-equipment of industry, that of workers included. His view of industry, like that of St. Simon before him, included all its worthy applications, with incorporation of each and all the sciences. But mechanotechnic industry, and its business and finance, have but slowly utilised even the mathematico-physical sciences which have so directly to guide them. So even at this day, the industrial world is only beginning to appreciate the value of individual and public health, and this for “efficiency”; and that of better social spirit, and its organisation, less adequately still.

waste beyond, and with its planting,—their vital education, in advance of Mechanotechnics, and to Biotechnics, has begun. But with this soon comes something of Biology, and this in its living sub-sciences ; and not merely or mainly collecting, or anatomising or classifying, interesting indoor accessories though these be. And with all this comprehension of rural place and work there comes acquaintance with its folk as well ; so here psychology comes in, and better than its learned name. The younger we are, the easier it is to recognise that life and mind are not matters of separate sciences apart, but at one in living, and this, as far as may be, in contact with the working world at its best and with its family life. Thus, each one's life, viewed by turns as social conduct, as individual behaviour, or as material activity, should include both organic and psychic functioning, free from their artificial separations.

IN this way we are escaping from the trammels so characteristic of the prevalent system, in which, for instance, one student goes to an Institute of Technology, and another to the College of Art across the road, and thereafter only think of each other's tasks as ugly or as useless, and too often both, not untruly. The medical student can similarly see how the teacher's training is too much between the abstract and the confused ; though the latter also sees the former beginning with the dead, and coming on to the diseased, a progress too much akin. At present, too, the classical political economy without ethics, the academic ethics without economics, have too much had to view each other's studies as respectively sordid and futile, and again with too much justice. Whereas, when we begin in the social and vital order with Life, and as Conduct ; and this as duty fulfilled with efficiency, we next improve on Behaviour, as sane balance of healthy mind and body. Thus, too, no Activity but must be eu-technic as well as technic, as every "good job" must be, even from sweeping hearth and street. Life is thus being fulfilled, and its fuller activities prepared for. Here, then, is a different culture from the mechanistic, with its still profoundly vitiated "technical instruction," its too self-centred "good form," and its too common social indifference, even to atony, its ignorance, its unemployment—if not even unemployableness, until re-education.

RECALL next, how of old the simple labours of the old rural villages, though each within but narrow limits, have spread along their river-valleys, as from Egypt and Mesopotamia, India and China, and through Europe, and now so much of the Americas as well. Thus, then, through simple Biotechnics, man's grasp ever extends to Geotechnics ; and so now anew. So why not to recovering those best developments of corporate endeavour well-directed, which of old, and now, indeed, again, not only maintain but advance the appropriate fertility of whole regions, from forest heights to shores ? In such geotechnic endeavours

the great States of old found their most vital functioning ; so why not our modern States anew—thus utilising their very armies, and their vast surplus of functionaries towards better organisation as well ? The amelioration of our villages, towns and cities is again another such vast task, still only beginning.

IN communities thus vitally occupied, simpler yet better economic organisation also ever arises, and this increasingly social and ethical as well. The village, the town, the city, thus aroused to common feeling, becomes more and more of an Etho-polity as well : and this, be it great or small, inter-acting with its Eu-psyhic development, towards the good life ; with this more fully valuing truth, and beauty also.

IN such ways our dreams and endeavours towards a better order of society are increasingly coming true, as can indeed be seen at many points, beginning around us, and over the world. As yet many see in all this but more or less mild modifications of the existing order ; but it is far more : for we have now clearly a new fundamental triad, of essential activities and concepts, and these not a little contrasted to the former one. In summary, let us note that we are no longer merely limited to the former three states, but now see three more. Thus :

{	MILITANT	{	POLITICAL	{	INDUSTRIAL or MECHANO- TECHNIC	{	BIO- TECHNIC	{	GEOTECHNIC	{	ETHO- POLITIC
	VOLITIONAL		ABSTRAC- TIONAL		PHYSICAL SCIENCE		PSYCHO- BIOLOGIC SCIENCE		COSMOGENIC & EVOLUTIONARY		EU- PSYCHIC

AT first sight this second triad of stages may seem wholly in opposition to the first one, and too much conversely also : and all this no doubt in too many cases. Yet with closer survey, further interpretations appear, till we can even appreciate anew, and with better understanding, the prevalent system we are thus escaping from. For mechanic industry has ever sought its living, and this as earned, not from taxation, as that so much for destruction : since the smith is better employed on plough than sword, and so helps the harvest he thus fairly shares. So Krupp seems to prosper all the better now than when armament-maker, as his improving town and spreading garden-villages also show.

So, too, the physical sciences have long been at work to aid the biological ; witness from pharmacies to manure-works. Railway and steamer, telegraph and telephone, motor and aeroplane, each and all offer expansion of life's powers ; and likewise telescope and microscope, instruments for laboratories, even to psychological, to cinemas, often truly educational.

AGAIN, the State, and its politics, law, and administrations, despite all the faults with which we reproach them, have seldom wholly lost sight of the task of order and protection of life and labour throughout their lands. They even justify their expansions or Conquests in such

terms. To evolve the State towards its needed Geotechnics, and to turn from its too doctrinal abstractions, as of "rights," &c., into a vital encouragement of the development of its country, and in place, work and people alike—in short, from the unapplied abstraction of "progress," and this conceived mainly or solely in terms of quantity—towards applying the widest of generalisations, that of Evolution, for all these, since this is in terms of quality above all.

FINALLY, comparing Comte's first stage with our present sixth one, our conception of Eu-psychics might long remain idealistic indeed, were it not that in the life and literature of the religious past which we inherit, all these ideas are already explicitly and nobly expressed, as towards "life more abundantly"—obviously not merely in quantity, but as evolution in quality. Its "love, faith and hope" have again but to be re-emotioned, re-intellectualised, and re-imaged, in our lives. So, too, even the militarists, despite all the excesses of war and rapine into which they have fallen, have commonly kept their loyalty towards their society, and to each other. So for this no army but must be granted something, and often much, of Etho-polity, and this synergic, towards achievement; thus also giving their lives freely to its cause—than which who can do more?

WE can now look, with the freshened sympathy of better understanding, at each and all the essential elements of the current society, over which we have above, and at many points, been well-nigh to despairing. Moreover, as we set out by seeing the older rural world as preceding our present main social formation, so now we can re-interpret this latter too, largely at best as having fallen back, and in each of its stages, and their combinations, from those of the vital order we are now outlining; and thus not as originally evil or mistaken, as they have too much come to be. If so, the caution is manifest; that even in the better order in which we begin to see, and must help more fully to develop, its apparently secured standing will need heed lest it fall.

XVI.

BUT if we have really here a fresh triad, comparable and even symetrically contrasted with those of the three states, it is reasonable, indeed necessary, to inquire—how far do they also develop corresponding interactions between them? And if so, how do they compare with those of the initial three? We must therefore look into these, and step by step as before.

As our Biotechnics extends to Geotechnics, we are obviously entering a transitional field of endeavour, a policy accordingly; and this correspondingly advanced beyond our present too mechanical Politics. Similarly, instead of confusing our too simply mechanical thought with that of abstract politics, law, &c., which yield the current opportunist political thought and controversy, we have now to extend our

psychological and biological science into the cosmogenic and evolutionary thought of Geotechnics. Thus our material Transition begins to find its corresponding subjective Interpretation.

NEXT correspondingly applying our widest aim and criterion of Geotechnics, to our Biotechnics, we have thus more fully to guide and control this. So, in fact, to Social Service. With its social and constructive thought, such evolutionary control deepens our mental and organic activities—otherwise too easily remaining limited, even to personal ones—towards social responsibility, with resulting and concretely conceived Social Economy. Thus a two-fold contrast, first of Social Service to Business for gain. Next, its traditional (or later) systems of Political Economy, vitiated as these alike are by abstractions devised by the metaphysical mind, give place to endeavours and studies of Social Economy accordingly.

THE business of business is Finance ; and this with success in exploitation of its opportunities of social control accordingly, so great as often to be compared to military victory and conquest, (even to calling it "Napoleonic !"—as such autocracy indeed tends to be). So also its pecuniary notation, and material symbols, of Money, acquire mystic and quasi-theological sacredness accordingly ; whence not only old-world adoration of the golden calf, but more than ever of Mammon, as "Almighty Dollar," &c. How to escape from this essentially pseudo-religious faith, and its domination, is one of the oldest and most difficult of social inquiries, in these times widely renewing, and with varied attempted solutions, even to panaceas. But simply thinking out the application of Etho-Politics to Biotechnics and Social Service, we see the conception of truly Social Direction, and to worthy life-productive tasks, beginning to appear, and this in clear antithesis to conventional Finance. With what intellectual concepts will such Direction now work ? Correspondingly with those of life's Science, moralised. Here the financier's Money is not rationally and seriously applicable : our basis of notation can no longer simply be his paper, nor even his mystic gold. Each life can, however, be estimated by the one standard common to all lives, albeit so different in quality, and productivity—that of its Days, many or few : and in terms of their application to vital and social purposes, of given nature and observed amount. The process of true Direction, socially applied, as well as individually vital, thus emerges ; and with consequences and practices widely different from the conventional ones. Yet not always so remote either, e.g., the financing of youth by re-education to social service ; for it is here only fair to note that with the calming of a financier's struggles with advancing age, and not always postponed till after death, such direction is also often aimed at ; though too simply by donations and foundations, instead of truly directive guidance.

AGAIN, how shall we apply our Biotechnics towards Etho-polity? Obviously, by enlisting Life to Peace, not War. And this as true Peace, not mere latent war, as so largely still; but as a veritable Peace-war: hence with its armour and weapons transmuted, as religions and idealisms, at their best, have ever taught, and sometimes striven. Its armaments are thus of Equipment for active Peace; and this not always vague, but sometimes—in principle, however small—no less definite than are those of War. The Fear which inspires armaments thus gives place to Hope: as the Hate in war, to Helpwill, ever strengthening, even through disappointments.

ONCE more, how shall we geotechnise with, and towards, Etho-polity? Region by region, city by city, and town by town, village after village, and home after home; and in converse order of course too. Our evolutionary Eu-psychics thus also evokes the corresponding emotionised Regionalism and Civism, so to rebuild "Jerusalem, within each green and pleasant land." Of this, even the actual Jerusalem begins to show literal examples, and other places too.

FINALLY, and conversely, how bring Eu-psychics to bear on our whole vision and thought of Evolution, both human and cosmic, throughout environment and community together? Here have we not at length the vital essence of Education—since for Re-education, even of our atonic victims of mis-instruction, from the verbalistic empaperment initiated by "the three R's" to the vivid and growing life of the three H's—Heart, Hand and Head, and in which the acquirement even of the three R's then comes so easily and well. Thus, coming into practical life, there may speedily be evoked and trained the needed new type of moralised and invigorated Citizenship, ready to take its part in any, or each, if not even all, of the other fields. What term shall we find for such youth, maturity and age? Individualistic these must be in one sense, as also socialistic in another; citizens too, and so on: but to avoid the misconceptions of terms too much coloured by different use (or non-use) in the previous system, let us call those of such re-Education and application—Socians.*

ENOUGH, then, for the present—if these two systems of society, that mainly dominant (Schema IX), and that incipient (Schema 9), have now been outlined sufficiently for comparison and consideration—it is even hoped towards further sociological thought, or initiative, perhaps even co-operation.†

*The term "Socius" is increasingly used by American Sociologists, and much in this sense; but such a Latin term (doubtful at best) is not easily accepted by the English tongue. Moreover, the distinctiveness of the incipient social system to which such also incipient types of individual belong, is the better of a distinct term, which also connotes its social and ethical elements.

†Criticism is invited, yet constructive suggestions as well; so why not a discussion, say at the Sociological Society, or at Edinburgh in late June, or here at Montpellier, as may be arranged?

P. GEDDES.

THE INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT EVENTS

<p>(b). Three further States (as 9).</p> <p>{Forestry, Agriculture, Horticulture, &c. Medicine & Public Health, &c.}</p> <p>BIOTECHNICS</p> <p>SCIENCE (BIO- LOGICAL & PSYCHOLOGICAL)</p>	<p>TRANSITION (SOCIAL)</p> <p>INTERPRETATION (SOCIAL)</p>	<p>PEACE-WAR & EQUIP- MENT</p> <p>HELPWILL & HOPE</p>
<p>SOCIAL SERVICE</p> <p>SOCIAL ECONOMY {Place, Work, Folk. Folk, Work, Place.}</p>	<p>SYNERGY IN GEOTECHNICS</p> <p>COSMOGENY (Evolution) in (Place, Work, Folk)</p>	<p>REGION & CITY</p> <p>REGIONALISM & CIVICS in (Folk, Work, Place)</p>
<p>DIRECTION (SOCIAL)</p> <p>LIFE- ACCOUNTANCY (Days, Years, Lives)</p>	<p>SOCIANS (SOCIALLY EFFICIENT)</p> <p>RE-EDUCATION (Occupational, Synthetic, &c.)</p>	<p>(Folk, Work, Place) in ETHO-POLITY</p> <p>EU-PSYCHICS in (Good, True, Beautiful)</p>

P.S.—WITHOUT any party feeling, here inappropriate, it is but right to call attention to Mr. Lloyd George's recent promise to cure abnormal unemployment in a twelvemonth, and the more since with economic planning, and financial forecasts, and these even up to the cheering promise of doing all this without extra local or national taxation. Without here discussing these proposals, it is not a little encouraging to note how such a programme,—and this also by the nature of the unemployed themselves, is one of constructive, and even largely reconstructive, purpose, and this largely in the country, as well as in towns. Thus to escape from the vague old party slogans—such as "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform," "Peace with Honour," "British Empire"—and so on—and to turn a party's mind, formerly so abstract in its thinking, towards the speedy delivery to the public, of actual goods, by setting people to work at them—and in positive geotechnic fashion, under agriculturalists, engineers, builders, perhaps even with architects, not to speak of town-planners—is a change positively revolutionary in its mental character, albeit so happily contrasted to revolutionary proposals in their now commonplace sense—or loss of sense. Such a constructive programme cannot but be seriously considered by the other parties too. Each must now face the problem of making some such practical programme of its own, surpassing others if possible. Will this not be the first case in history of long unemployed politicians getting to work after all? Of such practical proposals, the more the better, since it is at length becoming obvious that instead of the policy of mere doles, to maintaining unemployment, by giving of something for nothing, it is more than high time to be organising re-employment, and throughout the whole country; and also that whichever party can do this, is the one which the public must sooner or later put in power.

AND for us of this REVIEW, it is also of some legitimate satisfaction, to see how even the most eminent party politicians are now much more than creeping up, on so many, if not yet all, the very lines which so many of our papers have been long advocating; as also our associated books and pamphlets, notably those of our varied and technically expert collaboration on the Coal Crisis. With practical politicians thus overtaking us, is it not again for sociologists to be again looking ahead!

P. G.

NORMAL AND ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY IN RELATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE.

I. SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NORMAL AND ABNORMAL.

THE quality of a state, or in other words, the mentality of a nation, must depend on the mental quality of the individual citizens composing it. Not even a civilised class constitutes, to modern thinking, a civilised nation; the social consciousness of to-day demands a state in which civilisation shall extend throughout all the ranks of its members. Our recognition of the dignity and worth of all labour is at the same time an acknowledgment of the fact that every worker is worthy of a part in the civilised nation.

It is in relation to the building up of a civilised state that the question of "normal" and "abnormal" psychology becomes of such importance, since a true civilisation, a society of which all the members contribute of their best to the common whole, depends on the normal, healthy mentality which prevails among the members of that society. "Normal" in this sense corresponds with "natural," "rightly characteristic of the species," or "characteristic of the species at its highest level." A "normal" human being is a human being who realises to the full his own individuality and who is also rightly adjusted to his environment. With this double definition we come to the point at which psychology and sociology impinge. A human being can only realise his powers to the full when he is adjusted to his surroundings. At a certain level of intelligence a man must be social, because he perceives instinctively that he can only reach self-fulfilment through his relationship with the "herd." The "herd" gives him security and opportunity for the realisation of his powers; it is from this source that he receives the stimulus for the full development of those powers.

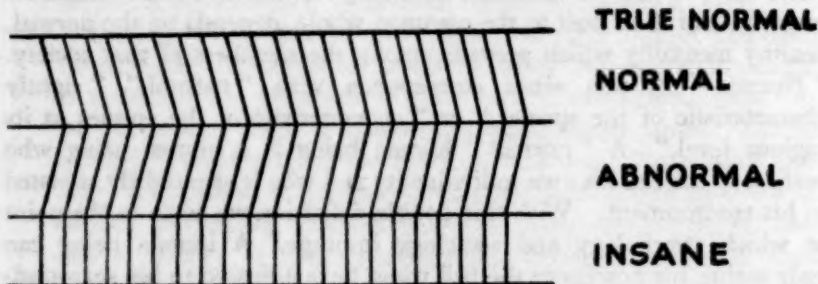
THE abnormal human being, on the other hand, is unadjusted to his environment. He strives, like every other human being, for self-fulfilment, but he strives for it apart from the "herd," forfeiting the stimulus which he might receive from social relationships and denying the responsibilities which attach to membership of the community. He contributes only by necessity to the social wellbeing. The satisfaction he demands from life is an individual satisfaction; but just so far as he is "unrelated," will he miss achieving self-realisation. He has regressed from that social existence which human intelligence demands.

II. DEFINITION OF TRUE NORMAL, NORMAL, AND ABNORMAL.

IF we represent "normal" and "abnormal" in diagrammatic form, we shall have an upper line representing the "true normal," that is, "characteristic of the species at its highest level." The "normal" human being in this sense is perhaps hard to find; but, biologically

speaking, we are bound to assume the possibility of its general occurrence. The "true normal" would be the human being with harmony and rhythm of body and mind; the physical carriage and pose would correspond with the mental characteristics of freedom and assurance; vigour of movement would correspond with mental control of energy; whilst the relation of such a human being to the other members of his society would be such that he would obtain the full advantages of the social milieu.

BELOW the line representing the "true normal," we shall have a space for the "normal." In this section we can place all the individuals whose attitude towards the external world and whose relationship with their fellows is characteristically "human" in the current conventional sense; who have sufficient courage and sufficient kindness to carry on with their job and to fulfil their social responsibilities.



BELOW this "normal" we must leave space for the "abnormal." We must surmise, of course, that the character of the "normal" persons becomes nearer the "abnormal" as in the diagram they occupy space in their own section further from the uppermost line. Probably we should not make a hard and fast line between "normal" and "abnormal"; the two sections will fade into one another. But from the practical, social point of view it is very important that we should be able to distinguish the "abnormal" from the "normal," because of the danger to social welfare which is implied in the existence of "abnormal" human beings in our midst. "Abnormal" persons are those whose social standard or ideal has not sufficient power over their minds to keep them properly adjusted to the external environment. On the one hand they fail to react to their social surroundings with normal, human self-assertion or self-display; on the other, they fail to respond with human, friendly feeling to those other persons to whom they feel inferior. "The "herd" gives them no stimulus; they are detached from social life. Their lack of self-confidence is exactly counterbalanced by their unfriendliness to the world.

SUCH persons become dangerous to the wellbeing of the community as, in the diagram, they stand further from the line bounding the

"normal." The less a human being is conscious of a relationship with his fellows, the less will he conform to the standard of conduct which a sense of social obligation entails. If we think of those qualities which ensure right conduct : honour, truthfulness, consideration for the rights of others, reliability and so on : we see how these qualities have been cultivated by human beings as members of a real community. Even self-respect, when analysed, is found to be a social quality. The person who has a deficient sense of relationship with the "herd" will be correspondingly lacking in the qualities which ensure social behaviour. Thus at a certain point such persons will manifest the cruelty, the licence, the selfishness which mark the conduct of the temperamental coward unrestrained by an ideal of himself as member of a social community.

III.

HEREDITARY AND ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINANTS OF ABNORMALITY.

FOR a person to become so abnormal as to be actually dangerous to the community, several factors must contribute. First, we must surmise a bad heredity, both physical and mental. For a man or woman to be so lacking in self-confidence, so passive in attitude, that fear becomes the dominant note in their mentality, there must be a causal physical factor. In those individuals who are actively anti-social we must premise not only a state of fear, but wild impulses of fear and inferiority, which sweep from his or her mind all considerations but the one desire to raise the level of the ego-consciousness, the easiest way being to manifest a domination over someone weaker than themselves. The main physical cause of the sense of inferiority in these cases is perhaps to be found in a faulty functioning of the heart. We might say, generally, that the physical determinant lies in a defective nervous system, with the poor circulation and consequent low vitality which this implies ; but more particularly in the weak and easily disordered functioning of the heart. The more or less instinctive knowledge that any extra exertion, effort or excitement, will disturb the regularity of the heart-beat gives such a person a permanent lack of self-confidence, accentuated by anticipatory fear whenever any particularly difficult situation has to be faced ; whilst at times the distress caused by any serious defect of function in the most vital organ will produce those waves of fear and inferiority which find compensation in acts of cruelty and domination. At the same time there will be found a second factor conducing to the result before the sense of inferiority manifests itself in an anti-social act : the poor mental equipment, hereditary like the physical, which prevents the individual from being able to see himself in a social setting. If he had the power of ideal thinking, by which he could see himself as part of a social whole, with self-realisation only to be gained as a member of the whole, he would find other compensation for his inferiority than in

anti-social behaviour. His intelligence would inhibit the impulse to which his fear gave rise.

Two other factors which combine with the hereditary factors to produce the dangerously abnormal person may readily be discerned as environmental. The first is the nature of the emotional suggestion which played on the individual's mind as a child. Perhaps no man or woman would, as an adult, commit acts of an actively anti-social nature if he or she had not the remembrance of unkindness suffered at the hands of some stronger person, most generally the mother, in the days when he or she was weak and defenceless. Sometimes the anti-social conduct will manifest itself quite early in the individual's life in the shape of cruelty to animals or domination over a smaller child; the motive being always the same, to revenge on the community the cruelty which the individual himself has suffered at the hands of a stronger person, who suggested to the mind of the child that domination over the weak, whether physical or mental, was synonymous with power. But, again, another environmental factor is discoverable as an element in provoking dangerous, anti-social conduct, namely, the absence of objects in the child's immediate surroundings to call out the sense of responsibility and the protective feeling which is latent even in the mind of a child. The presence in the home of a younger brother or sister (if jealousy is not aroused by favouritism on the part of the parents) may well act as a counteracting factor to the sense of injury which a child receives from cruel or unjust treatment from his or her parents. The adult who as a child reacted in a protective manner to a younger and dependent brother or sister and acquired the responsibility attaching to a protector would be less likely in later life to injure a weaker person, or in times of temptation to lose all sense of social responsibility. The abnormal person who commits dangerously anti-social acts is the person in whom the protective instinct has never been effectively stimulated.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF DANGEROUSLY ABNORMAL PERSON.

THE abnormal, unadjusted person, whose mentality is thus marked by fear and hostility, is not only dangerous because of the actively anti-social acts which under provocation he may commit, but also on account of the emotional atmosphere which surrounds and emanates from him. He emits emotional disturbances corresponding to his underlying distrust of himself and hostility to others. These abnormal persons are not difficult to recognise, since mental and physical are so closely bound up together in each individual that the mental attitude will reveal itself in physical signs and symptoms. Gait, carriage, manner of speaking, manner of looking, gesture and facial expression all afford verifiable indications of mentality. The unadjusted person shows as he walks that he is not in relation with other human beings. He does not look at them as he passes them in the street. He does

not want to deserve the good opinion of others, so his public behaviour corresponds to his introverted mental attitude. The more an individual approaches to the dangerously abnormal type, the more outward signs of unrelatedness will he show. You may see such persons in the street, walking very fast, looking at no one, often carrying a stick or umbrella. All their self-assertion and pugnacity (symbolised by the stick) is outside of themselves, not harmonised within the personality; it will be used as a weapon against anyone who interferes with their sense of security. Very interesting in this connection is the description given by Mrs. Pace of her husband's behaviour (after she had been acquitted of the murder, July, 1928). Pace was evidently a man of abnormal mentality of the type we have been considering. Never, according to his wife's description, did he look her in the face during their married life, but hung his head when he was speaking to her or anyone else. His wife describes him as the loneliest man she ever met, never offering a welcome to a friend, nor even speaking to a visitor. She knew when he was going to beat her by the way he walked across the fields: quickly, with his head bent down and his stick held tight in his hand. Sometimes he would sit brooding with his head down, "then jump up without a word, as if he had been pricked, and start something wild and cruel." His cruelty was shown towards animals and towards his children as well as his wife, who never resisted him. It is noticeable that the parental feeling which his children failed to stimulate in him when they were alive was awakened by those children when dead. When the children could no longer interfere with his selfish enjoyment or demand a share of the mother's attention, the man would give expression to his repressed paternal instinct by tending their graves.¹

V. INSANITY IN ITS ANTI-SOCIAL ASPECT.

BELOW the line bounding the space occupied by the "abnormal" (potentially dangerous) persons in our diagram will be the space occupied by "the insane." These are, of course, "abnormal," but differ from the last class by being potentially *very* dangerous. The same "four factors" no doubt conduce to the result when such persons become actively dangerous to the community: namely, the poor physical (nervous) inheritance; the inferior mental equipment which precludes any power of ideal presentation; the early environment with the wrong emotional suggestion that force is power; and the limited environmental stimuli for calling out a sense of responsibility. But we must premise another definite factor as necessary to produce the type of abnormality which we call "insanity." This is a tendency (with an hereditary neurological basis) for the emergence of another side of the personality than that which in such

¹A series of articles by Mrs. Pace descriptive of her married life appeared in the *Sunday Express*, 15, 22, 29 July, 15 August, 1928.

an individual has hitherto been turned towards the world. When such a change of personality takes place, the sub-conscious motives, corresponding with the mental attitude entailed in the convergent working of the four factors we have considered, become the determining forces of outward life and conduct; the fear and hostility of this submerged part of the personality bursting upwards to the surface under the influence of some shock or strain then entirely dominate the reactions to the environment. This change in the outward personality, by which the repressed motives take the upper hand and control conscious thought and action, probably corresponds to a definite brain change; at the same time the change may not be immediately apparent nor may conduct be affected until some danger threatens the individual's sense of security or power. Then the impulses of fear, jealousy and anger will control the situation, all the social checks and inhibitions of a normal orientation towards life falling into abeyance under the unbridled licence of the "ego" functioning without relation to the "herd." Although the insane person may not be "dangerous" so far as violent acts are concerned if (as we may surmise) one of the four "factors" were absent, yet the insane person who is "dangerous" is potentially more dangerous than any other abnormal type. He is, in fact, more "abnormal" than any other type of human being, because, being liable to violent dissociation of the personality, he may be completely mastered by the psychologically lower part which corresponds with the repressed motives. Therefore he may commit murder or he may commit suicide: acts so abnormal and contrary to the instincts which ordinarily determine a man's conduct as a "social" human being that they can only be committed by a person whose "selfishness" forms an "alter ego," a "self" which through hereditary tendency *enforced* by mental habit may become the "self" turned towards the external world, in which it manifests itself in acts of an anti-social nature so extreme as to be disintegrating to the social whole.

VI. ANALYTICAL VIEW OF NORMAL, ABNORMAL AND INSANE.

So far we have been dealing with "normal" and "abnormal" psychology in a descriptive way, showing how in a community the "normal" and "abnormal" types correspond with the socially valuable and socially dangerous. Now we have to consider "normal" and "abnormal" from a purely analytical point of view, that is to say, to evaluate the motives and mentality which lie behind the anti-social manifestations. The only motives which are satisfactory in an analytical enquiry are motives so fundamental that the statement of them becomes a biological argument. First, then, we must recognise that every human being has a life urge, the drive which is behind all the activities of a living organism. This urge is towards self-realisation: the expression of all the individual's powers, both physical and mental. Every human being desires such enhancement of his

ego-consciousness as shall justify his existence to himself. In the "normal" human being this underlying desire for power and success is the spur to achievement; he seeks to express his powers of body and mind in outward, tangible form, in external creative activity. The "instincts" in the human being are the inborn manner of response to certain objects and situations in the environment which ensure the full use and realisation of human powers in reaction to a definite stimulus. Intelligence, emotion and will (or striving) are all implied in any true instinctive activity, whilst the end to which the psycho-physical disposition always leads is some action in the external world. Powers of mind and body are thus stimulated whenever an instinctive reaction is set in train and achieves its end. The "normal" human being is so naturally and healthily adjusted to his surroundings that there is a constant direct reaction between himself and his environment, resulting in the appropriate play of mental and physical activity in response to a stimulus. The strongest stimuli for arousing a man's powers both of mind and body are those provided by the social environment. In response to the presence of other members of the herd the well-balanced individual reacts duly by the self-assertive instinct or by the submissive instinct, by the sex instinct or by the parental instinct, according to the needs of the situation, with a resulting release of psychic and physical energy. Moreover, the instinctive reactions harmonise with and re-inforce one another in such an individual, because he knows by sub-conscious intelligence that only in free and fruitful relationship with other members of society can he realise himself to the full. Such a man's reaction to his environment is positive. He realises himself through his achievement and obtains personal freedom and success through that facing of reality both in the world of thought and the world of action which is necessary for the accomplishment of his aims.

THE "abnormal" person, from the analytical point of view, is the person in whom all free instinctive activity is inhibited owing to a failure in suitable and intelligent adjustment to the environment. Taking the "four factors" in their psychological bearing we can see how these condition "abnormal psychology." The defective nervous system corresponds with a "nervous" temperament, which implies a reaction to difficulties and dangers by the instincts of fear and submission rather than of self-assertion and pugnacity. Consequently such a person will not enjoy the same opportunities for self-display or the same stimulation to his powers as the person of more courageous temperament. On the other hand, the person of "nervous" temperament is more sensitive to internal stimuli than the person better orientated to the external world. This openness to the forces within will be a disadvantage to him if all his inner perceptions are coloured by the fears and dreads which lack of success in the outward world

has given him. Again, such a person's lack of ideal intelligence (which was the second "factor"), will prevent him from seeing that he fails of success because his higher powers lie unstimulated through lack of adjustment with the rest of society. Environmental tendencies (the third and fourth "factors") will also tend to "drive in" the natural instinctive emotions, which, finding no outlet in normal, external activity, will form a deposit of emotion operative beneath the level of consciousness on the lower psychological plane of "repressed emotion." When such emotion finds expression in outward activity, it does so in acts of hostility directed against those whom the individual looks upon as the source of his own misfortunes, projecting on to others his own psychological crimes.

SINCE every human being desires with all the energy of the living organism that sense of security and power which is consonant with human potentialities, the person of abnormal psychology, unable to find self-realisation through normal personal relationships and achievement in the outer world, seeks a compensatory satisfaction in phantasy. Owing to his temperamental susceptibility to intuitions from the inner psychic world, he will have a particularly vivid sense of the hidden powers of his own personality. But owing to his faulty reactions in the world of consciousness and responsibility, his attitude to his own unconscious forces will be warped and twisted, resulting in distorted images of the contents of the inner world. This falsely coloured phantasy he will then project into the outer world, embodying the sub-conscious images in persons whose character supports and gives reality to his phantasy. The "mother" is for him the embodiment of those emotional forces of the unconscious from which he derives a sense of power, but towards which his attitude is one of fear and submission. The "father" embodies for him that unconscious urge to power and success by adjustment to the external world which he has repressed and towards which his attitude is one of hostility. As to his conscious life in the world of reality, this will be marked by the weakness and ineffectiveness of all his reactions save his over-emotionalised attitude of "love" for the person or persons who minister to his phantasy, and of "hatred" for the person or persons who stand for the opposite principle of reality. His attitude towards the world will thus correspond to his own inner bondage to the distorted images of his imagination.¹ It is obvious that such a mental attitude precludes any sense of social responsibility.

¹A man actuated by such motives can say to another person who supplies the "mother image," that is, who embodies for him the mysterious forces of the sub-conscious at whose mercy he feels himself to be: "I am yours, darling, absolutely, truly and entirely for ever and ever always. I set you first, darling; you are everything in the world, the breath of my body, the light of my very life, and if you go, I go, straight into the unknown" (an expression showing how closely such a man lives to his own unconscious forces), "for to me nothing else matters but Dora, Dora, Dora." (Case of a doctor whose name was erased from the medical register for an improper friendship with a married woman, May 1928).

THE insane person, from the analytical point of view, is the person whose repressed emotions, working on the lower psychological level, have so far invaded the plane of consciousness that the phantasy born out of his unsatisfied desires has become for him the only reality. That second personality in which the phantasy originated is now turned towards the outside world, so that the external world is peopled with the creatures of his imagination. The objects and persons of the real world have no meaning for him except as vehicles for the content of his phantasy. Thus both inner and outer world are merely a part of himself. He is a God, to work his own will, accountable to no one. Therefore murder, appropriation of the goods of others and other crimes are natural to him; for him there is no "meum" or "tuum"; he is a God and must preserve his phantasy intact, by whatever means, against whatever persons. If there is no other course open he can by suicide establish his claim over the person who has enthroned him in his phantasy. Only through such domination of the mind of a human being by phantasy (whether of "God" or "King" or "Queen of Heaven"), which precludes all necessity of a normal "herd" adjustment, can we explain psychologically those acts which put a man entirely out of relationship with the "herd" through which alone his "ego" can rightly function.¹

IF we take insanity as a state of mind in which a phantasy of omnipotence, arising out of the unconscious, dominates a man's attitude towards the external world, we must notice that the normal personality may not be entirely submerged, but may function except when the underlying complex is "touched off." It is probable that either internal or external stimuli may animate the complex, arousing at once through trains of mental association a man's consciousness of the strong inner psychic forces, his sense of inadequacy towards the outside world, his fear of losing his hold on the person in whom his phantasy is embodied and his hatred towards anyone interfering with his phantasy. At such a moment he will not stop at any act of violence or sadistic cruelty by which he can gain his own end. In the case of Pace (mentioned above), a man, no doubt, intermittently insane, we are told by his wife that after he had finished beating her he would "throw down his stick and start whistling and singing," his song being always the same: "I am Henery the Eighth, I am." In this way he would re-establish, at least to his own satisfaction, his threatened phantasy of omnipotence. It is noticeable how often murder takes the form of strangulation or throttling and how often the murderer cuts up the body of the victim into small pieces. In so doing the murderer evidently wishes to obtain a sense of complete domination in the actual possession of the object of his phantasy.

¹This conception of the "herd" being the milieu in which the "ego" normally functions I owe to Dr. S. M. Sloan, psycho-analyst.

A STRANGE acknowledgment of the fact that a murderer must be insane was made recently by Frederick Guy Browne, the murderer of Police Constable Gutteridge. In a letter written two days before his execution, Browne first indirectly acknowledged his own guilt and then continued: "I am not a mad-man. The murderer of that P.C. was (to my mind) a mad-man." Browne thus actually himself revealed the dual personality which underlies and explains such acts of crime. Browne also constantly asserted that his death would be by his own act. A few hours before his execution he wrote a letter to the *Evening Standard*, filling in at the top of the letter as the place to which a reply should be sent "Mortuary": "I . . . the undersigned (and writer of this letter to-night) shall be dead and at rest for ever by the time you receive this letter in the morning; well, here in this prison as above, I leave the world by my own hand, at my desired time, in my own way, with a well balanced mind, SOME may choose to call . . . 'temporary unsound.' No man was ever more master of himself than *I am*, as I prepare to slip the most wonderful English 'Justice'; this time I will beat the Officials even though I pay with my life, it is worth it; curse all those who have made my wife and child suffer."³ Browne thus looked upon his own death by execution as a self-determined death, the action of a man "temporary unsound" as far as his attitude towards the external world and society was concerned, but an action deliberately planned by that "other" personality which was stronger than his "sane" self. The "suicide" followed psychologically on the "murder." He had killed the "policeman," signifying his own sense of social responsibility; there was nothing then to prevent him from escaping into the other world where he would be "at rest" for ever. By his death he would "slip" justice and "beat the officials," that is, finally evade the last call of duty and responsibility, whilst in the last phrase of his letter he is seen to throw the onus of his own deed of desertion on to others: "Curse all those who have made my wife and child suffer."

It is obvious that the future wellbeing of society will depend largely on the study and understanding of normal and abnormal psychology. The clearer idea we have of the "normal" human being, the fuller will be our recognition of the fact that "abnormality" manifests itself in anti-social behaviour as well as in emotional emanations of a socially unhealthy nature. With a standard of the "normal" in our minds we shall also be able to recognise those deviations from the normal which in any given individual are actually dangerous to society. Further, with a thorough understanding of the mental attitude and psychological motives which lie behind acts of crime and violence, it may be possible for us to take effective measures, both preventive and remedial, to deal with this danger and to raise the national standard of mentality.

ALICE RAVEN.

³*Evening Standard*, 31/5, 28.

**A SURVEY OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS
IN MARGATE: PREPARED FOR LEPLAY HOUSE AND THE
MARGATE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL WELFARE, BY ALEXANDER
FARQUHARSON, M.A.**

[Continued from January REVIEW.]

38. THESE facts are confirmed by figures obtained from the Ministry of Labour as to insured employees in 1927. The classification here is not exactly the same as in the census. However, out of a total of over 8,000 insured employees, nearly 2,500 were in hotel and boarding house service, over 1,800 were in distributive trades, and over 600 in entertainments and sports.

39. It is from this situation that there arises the central and radical social problem of Margate as it is to-day. At the height of the summer tourist season all the local labour available for the services required by the tourist population (including accommodation, catering, shop-service, service at places of recreation, &c.), is used to the full; and the demand is so great that labour has to be imported from London by many of the hotels and restaurants, while every season many people migrate to the town on their own account to seek seasonal work. Cases are mentioned of all the members of households where there are no young children hiring themselves out separately for various forms of service, and letting the home as a whole to summer visitors.

40. WHEN the season is over many forms of personal service become a drag in the labour market, and the Employment Exchange has between 500 and 1,000 people on its unemployed lists. This number does not include boarding house and apartment keepers who are themselves engaged in personal services to visitors during the season, but are unable to offer themselves for work on the usual lines during the slack period. There is a slight revival of business at Christmas; but with that exception the slack season continues from October to Easter, and not until June does the period of full employment commence. During this long interval many people live upon what they have put by from summer visitors, or have saved from boarding house and hotel employment, upon credit, unemployment pay, loans, charity, and the proceeds of occasional jobs. It is generally agreed that the system (if it can be called such) has a widespread demoralising effect upon the workers.

41. EVEN if the season were longer it is doubtful whether the results would be satisfactory. Social workers point out that the type of work at hotels and boarding houses (*i.e.*, washing, cleaning, portering, &c) does not bring out the best of the boys and men who engage in it; and further, that these tend to become careless about employment

in the slack season and to leave the burden of maintaining the home to the women. It is, indeed, said that many of the men who have become accustomed to the system are no longer suitable for regular all-the-year-round employment ; but this may be an exaggeration.

42. THE problem has been fully discussed by all interested in the welfare of Margate, and the general view is that could some new industry be attracted to the town, and could this take up the labour of about 1,000 men, the solution would in great part have been found. It is, however, pointed out that the withdrawal of this amount of labour from that available during the season would make necessary the importing of fresh labour and might lead to the growth of a new class of summer employees as numerous as the old. These arguments deserve to be given full weight, but it cannot be seriously doubted that fresh sources of employment would be good in their general results.

43. A MINOR but troublesome effect of the same cause arises in connection with the people who migrate to Margate for employment during the season. At the end of each summer a few of these remain in the town without adequate resources and become, in one way or another, a burden on the town during the ensuing winter. Efforts are made by the police, the Guardians, and by charitable people to transfer such cases to centres where they may find employment.

44. IT should be mentioned that serious efforts have been made by the Margate Corporation (and no doubt by other employers) to mitigate the worst effects of seasonal occupation by keeping on during the winter as many employees as possible, and finding work on painting, cleaning, repairing, and other similar jobs. The effect of such measures is important, but it is admitted that they cannot possibly meet the whole need.

45. THE working out of the same unsatisfactory system can be illustrated from another field. There are perhaps fifty men of the fisherman or boatman type associated with the port. These combine occasional short range fishing with boatmen's work for summer visitors, and unloading and other miscellaneous work about the harbour and pier. Few or none find anything like full-time employment. Every effort is made to find jobs for them during the winter ; but there is no hope of continuous prosperity or comfort in work under such conditions.

46. SO far as juvenile employment is concerned, there is unquestionably a great lack of suitable openings for boys and girls. It is said that large numbers of both leave the town for employment elsewhere after the age of 15 or 16. The Juvenile Welfare Bureau is at present attempting to find work elsewhere for boys, but no figures are available as to boys and girls who may find work away from the town on their own account or through parents or relatives. Of those who remain,

a number fall into semi-skilled jobs of a seasonal character, *e.g.*, boot boys, page boys, and other forms of service at hotels, boarding houses, and so on. Many girls are used at home helping to wait on summer visitors; others find temporary summer employment in shops and cafes. A number are unemployed regularly during the winter. The figures given by the Employment Exchange—say about 100 boys and girls unemployed at the worst period—seem low, and it is possible that many do not register.

47. DURING the busy season some children attending school are employed in their spare time, chiefly as errand boys. The Medical Officer of Health reports that he found 91 children thus employed in July, 1926; a few were working a little overtime, but "it could scarcely be said that any . . . were illegally employed." All were strong and healthy.

48. THE general impression to be gathered from the appearance of the town and from common report is that spare time occupation in allotments and gardens is not common; nor are any other forms of spare time occupation easily discovered.

49. The Housing situation in Margate, though not quite normal or satisfactory, is much better than in many other towns and districts, and does not present insoluble problems. The total number of structurally separate dwellings occupied by private families at the time of the census of 1921 was 5,159; the number of families therein was 5,888; the total number of persons in the families was 27,888; and the total number of rooms available to them was 32,186. It will be seen that all except 547 of the private families in Margate lived in structurally separate dwellings; that the average number in family (including domestics and visitors) was under 5; that the average number in a separate dwelling was between 5 and 6; and for each 100 persons in these families there were, on the average, 115 rooms.

50. ALLOWANCE must be made for the presence of some summer visitors in these households; and again it must be remembered that these figures take no account of the households containing a large number of visitors, which are treated as "non-private" families by the census. It is, however, clear that the population of Margate is comfortably provided with houses on the whole; it is, indeed, a Paradise as compared (say) with the mining areas in the north.

51. AT the lower end of the scale there was, it is true, some overcrowding in 1921; *e.g.*, 226 families, including 458 people, were living in one room each, and 426 families, including 1,218 people, were living in two rooms each. These cases were, however, no doubt due to shortage of suitable houses, rather than to a widespead habit or tradition. It is noteworthy that the average number of rooms per person is shown by the census figures to have been more than one in every ward of the town except Cecil Ward, where it was .88.

52. AN accurate estimate of the present position is impossible in the absence of exact figures of present population. The Medical Officer of Health estimates the number of dwellings occupied by private families in 1926 to be 6,163—over 1,000 more than in 1921. In spite of increase in population, therefore, the situation is now in all probability better than it was in 1921. There still seems to be a number of families who are compelled to live in lodgings because they cannot find suitable houses. Rents are said to be somewhat high, and small working-class houses too few in number. It is generally believed that a certain amount of overcrowding takes place during the tourist season ; but, given good weather, visitors are much out of doors, and little harm may result.

53. A VITAL factor in good housing is the density of population ; *i.e.*, its relation to the available space. The published figures (census 1921) show a happy situation, though density varies greatly in the different wards. Only in Ethelbert Ward does it reach over 100 persons per acre ; Pier Ward has over 80 per acre and Cecil over 65. At the other extreme are Park Ward with 10.5 and West Ward with 5.9 per acre. The figures for the town as a whole is 18.9—a remarkably good figure seeing that it includes visitors. These statistics, however, must be taken with reserve ; they mean little in those wards which have much open ground (such as Park and West) ; to get effective comparisons open ground should be excluded.

54. SPEAKING generally, houses in Margate appear to be well-built ; many of the smaller houses are plain in appearance ; those built since the War, however, are generally much more attractive. There is, in the older parts of the town, a considerable number of small, old houses which are now in bad condition. No complete survey of these appears to have been made ; some no doubt require radical alteration, and others should be closed. Shortage of other accommodation makes it difficult (as in other towns) to press for a forward policy in this matter ; the authorities keep the need in view, and several of the worst houses are closed each year, while others are reconditioned.

55. THE provision of the mechanical basis of health in Margate is on very good lines. The water supply is plentiful, and the official reports on the water show it to be of good quality. Arrangements for sewage disposal are up-to-date, and sewers are now being extended to all areas within the Borough. Refuse collection is systematic, and refuse is disposed of to good purpose by an up-to-date destructor. Smoke abatement is hardly an urgent problem as there are only seven large chimney stacks in the town ; but these are carefully watched. Sea bathing, and private provision of bathing establishments, has made public provision less urgent. The town has, however, recently opened an installation of slipper baths in a new building in the Dane

Valley, a site convenient for the older parts of the town where the provision of bathrooms is said to be less common.

56. THERE may be a case for careful enquiry into the position of Margate as a health resort, *i.e.*, what are the scientific grounds which give Margate its standing as a place for invalids to visit. There seems to be little accurate knowledge on this subject, though eminent doctors have been convinced for generations of the benefits of "Margate air."

57. JUDGED by the usual vital statistics the health of Margate compares very favourably with anything that the rest of the county can show. The birth rate in 1926 was 14.4 per 1,000, which may be compared with 17.8 for England and Wales. The death rate was 11.02 per 1,000, a little less than the rate of 11.6 for England and Wales. The infant mortality rate was 44 per 1,000, which is very much less than the figure of 70 for England and Wales. These rates are in every case calculated on the Registrar-General's estimate of population. If the actual population figures were taken they would, in all probability, be much lower.

58. INFECTIOUS diseases are dealt with at the Hospital at Haine, provided jointly by Margate and other authorities in Thanet. There is also a small-pox hospital adjoining. The Kent County Council provides a Clinic in the town for V.D. cases. Cases of tuberculosis occurring in the town are treated under the Kent County Council scheme at the Tuberculosis dispensary, and also as in-patients at the Victoria Home and the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital in Margate itself. Surgical and accident cases are treated at the Margate Cottage Hospital; this accommodates 30 patients. It is generally agreed that the accommodation here is inadequate for the needs of the town, and a scheme for building a new and larger hospital is now in hand.

59. THE Corporation provides a Clinic for Maternity and Child Welfare with which is associated a system of regular visits by Health Visitors to babies and children under five years of age. Two midwives are paid by the Corporation to attend maternity cases, fees being charged for their services. There is provision for unmarried mothers in conjunction with a Home at Ramsgate. Minor ailments in school children as well as dental treatment and eye testing are dealt with at the School Clinic.

60. THERE is an official motor ambulance for conveying cases of infectious disease to the Isolation Hospital; and the Margate Ambulance Corps (with the co-operation of the Municipality) provides a motor ambulance for non-infectious and accident cases. The Corps is also available for general ambulance work in the town whenever required. The local District Nursing Association provides three nurses whose services are in constant demand in the poorer quarters

of the town. A system of contributions by patients exists in connection with this service.

61. AN examination of the published statistics of health and disease does not reveal any outstanding health problems which call for immediate attention. Perhaps the most urgent need is for additional provision for mentally defective cases. A Committee has recently been formed in Thanet to assist in dealing with such cases, and an occupation centre in Margate is part of their scheme.

62. IN 1926 an Education Week was held in Margate. The Handbook issued in connection with that week is in effect a Survey of all educational work in Margate and gives much detailed information as to the present position. It also deals with the health of school children and with juvenile employment. It is, therefore, unnecessary to attempt here any general account of educational development in Margate.

63. THERE is, however, an outstanding problem deserving attention. There is no branch of the Workers' Educational Association in Margate, and no other body is attempting to organise tutorial classes or courses on the lines followed by the W.E.A. It is said that there is no local demand and that such courses would not be successful if attempted.

64. ANOTHER problem which may deserve serious consideration is the need for some provision for a public Museum. The town is fortunate in possessing an extraordinarily good collection of local maps, prints, and views, which, however, it is impossible to exhibit at present. Any proposals for providing Museum space should of course be most carefully considered in connection with the development of the Public Library, and the provision of other amenities. It should not be impossible to devise a scheme which would add to the attractions of Margate for the more thoughtful visitors, and at the same time assist educational work in the town.

65. AN examination of educational statistics raises another question which is linked with the general problem of the relations of the town with the institutions established in it. In 1926 the average number of children on the books of the Elementary Schools was 3,300. The number of persons aged 5 to 14 attending educational institutions was 6,860; it is probably about the same now, if not more. This means that half the population of school age is in schools other than elementary; *i.e.*, boarding schools or other institutions. Some of the children at boarding schools no doubt belong to well-to-do families living in the town; most are, of course, from other parts of the country. What means of contact, if any, is there between these two school populations? Is any desirable, and if so, how can it be obtained?

66. A FULL survey of recreational activities, particularly those for juveniles, has not been possible. As in other towns of the same

type the widespread provision of recreation on a commercial basis or by municipal effort tends to lessen the voluntary provision. The work of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides seems to be active and well developed, and both have the merit of uniting in one body groups from the institutions in the town and groups from the homes—a first answer to the questions in the last paragraph. The Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Life Brigade and the Girls' Friendly Society are also at work. Much indoor recreation (Guilds, Literary Societies, &c.) is associated with the various churches and chapels. Outdoor recreation (swimming, football, &c.) is associated both with churches and chapels and with schools.

67. It seems doubtful, however, whether the openings for juvenile recreation, *i.e.*, those dealing with boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20, are quite adequate. A detailed examination would probably show that only a small proportion of the young people of those ages belong to any juvenile organisation. This is partly a result of the local conditions described under employment, and partly, no doubt, of general causes at work in the town.

68. It is not possible in this Survey to attempt an estimate of the various agencies and influences making definitely for good citizenship and morals. On the other hand it is clear that defects in citizenship and morality rarely lead to serious offences against the law. The report of the Chief Constable for 1926 records 180 crimes and 287 other offences. Among crimes, by far the commonest was simple larceny (125 cases). There were 16 cases of breaking into shops, warehouses, &c., and most of the other cases were thefts or frauds in some form. The non-indictable offences were chiefly against the Highway Acts and police regulations, with a few cases of drunkenness. The general picture thus obtained is of a town where there is no criminal class, where the incursions of large numbers of visitors and trippers lead to occasional disorderly conduct or to technical offences, and where the existence of large numbers of persons engaged in indoor service to a succession of summer visitors gives many opportunities for petty theft.

69. MARGATE has many organisations and institutions dealing with general welfare, and these between them must cover a large number of people. It has not been possible to get particulars as to provision of old age pensions, widows' and orphans' pensions, or war pensions, as the official bodies concerned are unable to supply these in the form required. Particulars of out-relief from the Guardians show that it is not on a large scale. There appears to be about 100 out-relief cases in Margate, and these seem to be concentrated in a fairly small area of the town.

70. SOME particulars are available of other provision. Charitable assistance for the aged (*e.g.*, the Yoakley Charity, the Alexandra Homes

and Peet's Charity) seems exceptionally good for a town of Margate's size. Again, such work as rescue work seems to be quite adequately provided for on good lines.

71. AT the same time it is suggested that there is a certain number of difficult cases for which, at present, adequate provision is not made. Such are cases of people who have come to the town for employment or other reasons during the tourist season, and find themselves stranded at the end of it ; and also cases of people who may have visited the town for a very short period and are found by the police or others without resources. There is no provision by the Guardians for casuals in the town itself, and there is, therefore, occasional difficulty in dealing with cases of that type.

Section D. SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATION.

72. No local survey of social conditions and problems can be complete without some account of the statutory and voluntary organisations whose purpose it is to meet the needs arising from these problems and conditions. Much information about the work of the organisations that exist in Margate has already been given in the course of the foregoing sections. Each organisation, however, is to a greater or less extent a separate unit, with its own personnel, its own outlook, its particular methods of work, its own public, its own type of organisation, its special needs and financial problems. A complete survey of organisations would therefore give the materials for a fuller estimate of all aspects of social life in Margate than could be arrived at in any other way.

73. IT need hardly be said that the present Report cannot include such a complete survey ; it cannot even include a complete list of all bodies at work on social service in Margate to-day. It is possible, however, to set down some general statements about the existing organisations which may have some value in connection with the general scope and purpose of this Report.

74. THE territories and populations covered by the various official and voluntary organisations show, as is usual in this country, great and somewhat confusing variations. The boundaries of the municipal area of Margate, with which this report primarily deals, cut across the areas of civil and ecclesiastical parishes. The Board of Guardians deal with the whole of Thanet, and their local area for relief purposes includes some territory outside the Municipal Borough. The Kent County Council and the Kent Education Committee in some instances deal with Margate as part of Thanet (*e.g.*, the local Schools of Art in Margate and Ramsgate are organised jointly as "The Thanet School of Art"). The Employment Exchange in Margate takes the whole of the northern half of Thanet as its area, that in Ramsgate

dealing with the southern half. Old Age Pensions and War Pensions are administered over wider areas including Margate ; both the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are organised in districts extending beyond the Borough ; the Hospital takes some cases from Thanet (Ramsgate Hospital taking others), and so on. At the other extreme are found Charities confined to persons living in a particular parish. These details are mentioned to make clear one of the difficulties which must be faced in any attempt to organise any useful co-operation between statutory and voluntary social effort in the Margate area.

75. SUCH co-operation does not as yet seem to be highly developed, but in Margate, as elsewhere, appearances are probably somewhat deceptive in this respect. In relief work, for example, the same persons may often be responsible for public relief as Guardians, and for charitable relief as members of philanthropic committees ; and this undoubtedly helps towards some informal co-ordination of effort. Examination of the work of the various organisations in detail would, however, no doubt reveal many opportunities for more systematic co-operation.

76. AGAIN, co-operation among the statutory authorities themselves shows interesting developments in Margate. Perhaps the most important example is the co-operation between the Margate Education Committee and the Kent Education Committee in arrangements for administration, working of certain schools, and juvenile welfare. Such an example deserves careful study with a view to suggestions for similar co-operation in other fields.

77. ANOTHER type of co-operation for which Margate offers a special field (it has already been mentioned by implication) is that between organisations and institutions established primarily by and for the town, and those that primarily serve London and the country at large. In some cases the constitutional position of the bodies concerned may not permit of any co-operation ; nothing more can be suggested here than a study of the provision made by such institutions in relation to any needs that may exist in the town.

78. A CURSORY study of the personnel of the committees, officers, and any others responsible for statutory and voluntary effort in Margate, gives a clear impression of the limited amount of personal effort available. The leading professional men and business men of the town have to shoulder the greater part of the burden. Few leisured people are interested in public and social work, though Margate owes much to two or three women who are able to devote the greater part of their time to public work. Volunteer workers for new developments are not easy to find ; philanthropic work, and work among juveniles is officered by teachers, clerks, some shop assistants, and some manual workers. These limitations of personnel constantly raise the problem of leadership, for there can be no doubt that many of those able to

take some useful part as subordinates are not capable of the initiative and enterprise required to make new developments a success. The problem is, of course, not peculiar to Margate.

79. A LAST point of great importance in connection with the work of all organisations in Margate may be mentioned. The accounts of voluntary associations indicate that the financial resources available in the borough are not very large. As already suggested, the Corporation has shown much enterprise in developing the town, and expenditure on education, health and recreation has not been seriously limited; it is, however, possible that there may be little room for further expansion. In philanthropic work again, many of the organisations possess considerable endowments which make their work to some extent independent of regular voluntary contributions. Large contributions from industrial firms and from their employees are absent in Margate. The number of "Guinea Subscribers" is small, and for many objects the old-fashioned house-to-house collection organised in wards seems to remain the best resource. Entertainments are, as usual, a favourite means of raising funds. There is a general impression that the summer visitors, who often benefit considerably by the social provision existing in Margate, do not contribute a fair share to its maintenance, and this point may be well worth investigation.

Section E. SUGGESTIONS FOR THE WORK OF THE MARGATE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

80. IN putting forward the suggestions which follow, no attempt has been made to cover the whole of the ground that may ultimately be dealt with by the Council of Social Welfare. Nor is it possible to suggest any very definite order of importance in accordance with which these suggestions might be taken up. They are, however, arranged in a series which leads from those requiring less to those requiring more organisation. Even if the Council is not soon able to have office accommodation of its own and to employ a full-time official, it may be quite possible to carry out work on the lines of the first among the following suggestions: those coming later cannot, in most cases, be adopted until such assistance is at disposal.

81. AT many points in the previous sections it has been indicated that further enquiry into particular features of the economic and social life of Margate might bring good results. Many of the enquiries thus suggested could be undertaken, if necessary, before the Council has developed its organisation further. Competent workers could be had for short periods from the central associations responsible for each particular kind of work, and the expense of employing these would not be great. If full reports could thus be obtained, and if these could be discussed with all interested and brought to public notice, the Council would soon have an assured and authoritative place in the social life of Margate.

82. It would be of great assistance to all local social workers if the Council of Social Welfare could compile a directory of all the local organisations which share in the social life of the town. Such directories have been compiled by many other local Councils, and have always proved of great value to social workers. Further, as giving a complete elementary survey of local social activities, they have some importance in leading to, or helping forward, suggestions for better organisation. Elsewhere such directories have frequently confined themselves to relief, philanthropic and educational organisations; they have generally included both statutory and voluntary bodies. In the case of Margate it might be possible to include local social efforts of every kind; even political and recreational clubs might be included.

83. SUCH a directory should, of course, be kept up to date. This will not be difficult when the Council has its own offices; a card index revised from day to day as fresh information comes in will meet the case, supplemented by a yearly request to Secretaries of various organisations to bring the existing information up to date. There may be difficulty in printing such a directory on account of expense; two suggestions should here be considered:

- (a) A local newspaper might be prepared to print the directory annually as a special feature in one of its issues (just as the local railway timetable is occasionally printed);
- (b) The local commercial directory (in this case Kelly's) might consider including the directory of social agencies in its pages, if classified under suitable headings. This has been done successfully in the Chester Directory on the initiative of the local Council of Social Welfare.

84. THE compilation of such a directory would be a valuable supplement to the present Survey, in which no attempt has been made to include exhaustive lists of organisations. The special enquiries suggested in paragraph 81 would also extend and amplify the Survey from different points of view. Further, the idea of the Survey as a constantly growing and improving collection of all available information, organised in a systematic way, should be kept steadily in mind. It need hardly be said, however, that (apart from the probability that any officer employed by the C.S.W. will have little time for such work) it will best serve the purpose of increasing local interest if the Survey is extended from time to time not on theoretical grounds, but to deal with the more urgent local problems of the moment. Constant application of the method of careful enquiry and amassing of facts, and of judging a situation upon these, will in time make a deep impression upon the attitude of the people of a locality to all their social and economic problems.

85. THE C.S.W. could as time goes on materially assist other local voluntary bodies towards the solution of their office and secretarial problems. It is common knowledge that in towns of the size of Margate many local philanthropic and educational bodies find a difficulty in carrying on their work because their funds are not sufficient to allow for the employment of a full-time officer, or for the rent of an office. This, of course, does not apply to the wealthier endowed charities; it is true of many useful bodies dependent upon voluntary contributions. Where such a difficulty arises it may be possible for the C.S.W. to offer its services to carry on secretarial and accounting work, and the use of its offices for meetings of the association or its committees when required. Such a method of working has been found very successful elsewhere. It is probably in every way better than an arrangement under which an officer of the C.S.W. personally undertakes the secretarial work of other bodies, as continuity is secured and no fresh arrangement is required when a change of personnel takes place. Contributions obtained under such arrangements towards the cost of secretarial and accounting work would not, in many cases, be very large; in sum, however, they would in time be a valuable addition to the resources of the C.S.W. It may be well to note that while the advantages of this method of working are in general unquestionable, full account should be taken in each case of the wishes of those responsible for the local organisations, and also of any personal considerations which may be involved. Here, as elsewhere, the C.S.W. can act effectively only if it has the full co-operation of the other organisations concerned.

86. SOME information has been obtained in the course of the Survey as to possible duplication of charitable assistance from different bodies and of overlapping of such assistance and poor law relief. It seems possible that some overlapping and duplication may occur; on the other hand, the indications suggest that it is probably not on a large scale. It is, however, likely that sooner or later the question of registration by the C.S.W. of relief given by philanthropic bodies and by the Guardians may arise in this connection.

87. THE advantages of a scheme of registration need not be argued at length here; it must be obvious that if complete information as to the assistance given to all cases in the town from all sources were available, abuse of local philanthropy might be avoided or greatly reduced, the resources available might be directed over a wider field and administered to better purpose, and a comprehensive and detailed view of the relief problems of the town would be possible.

88. AT the same time experience elsewhere suggests that registration is most effective when carried on in close contact with other forms of co-operation between philanthropic and statutory bodies. It seems

likely, therefore, that in Margate the best way of going to work will be for the C.S.W. to establish links with all the local philanthropic agencies, and with the Guardians, and gradually to develop methods of co-operation with them before attempting (or even discussing) a system of registration. When the C.S.W. has a full-time officer, he should be able in the course of two or three years' work to get into contact with the relief problems of the town in detail ; and when the value of co-operation, and of full information as to assistance from all sources, has been established in particular cases, it ought not to be difficult to take steps towards a general system of registration.

89. As a preparation for such developments the C.S.W. in all personal service work should make a point of obtaining full information from all possible sources about assistance already being given. It must further be remembered that in any registration scheme the personality of the officials responsible is a factor of great importance, particularly when the scheme is being initiated. In some cases an able local official has been in a position to secure nearly all the information possible under a registration scheme without any such scheme having been formally adopted.

90. PERSONAL service is an important feature in the work of many local Councils of Social Welfare. It has many varieties, and it is impossible to say with finality which varieties should be undertaken in Margate, and in what order of importance they should be considered. There can be little doubt that work of the Citizen's Friend type should find a place early in the Council's activities. All experience elsewhere shows that there is an increasing need for a source of free and friendly information for the many people who have questions to ask with regard to statutory and voluntary provision of all kinds. Experience also shows that the existence of such a source of friendly advice may often avoid, by indicating other ways of assistance, the need for relief in money. It is quite likely, too, that such a service, if known, would be used by summer visitors (as the medical services of the town are now used), and in this development there might be some additional sources of revenue for the C.S.W.

91. It is certain that if Citizen's Friend work is attempted, problems requiring legal knowledge for their solution will soon appear. A "Poor Man's Lawyer" arrangement to deal with such cases will be the natural development, and there should be no difficulty in arranging this with the co-operation of local solicitors. It has been found elsewhere that from among the younger solicitors there are generally forthcoming sufficient volunteers to deal adequately with "Poor Man's Lawyer" work. In the case of both "Poor Man's Lawyer" and Citizen's Friend work it may have to be considered whether the offices of the Council should be open on one or more evenings weekly.

Elsewhere in some cases this has been found essential; it may, however, be unnecessary in Margate.

92. No attempt will be made to lay down here any definite suggestion as to undertaking personal service involving money assistance. It is likely that the number of cases in Margate requiring such assistance, and not already provided for by voluntary or statutory means, is very small, though (as indicated above) some experienced workers seem convinced that they exist. In the early stages all cases requiring relief might be referred from the C.S.W. offices to sources of assistance already existing, and only when it is clear that cases exist for which these sources do not provide should any organisation of money relief be included in the personal service work of the Council.

93. SOME of the existing organisations may, sooner or later, be inclined to use the services of the C.S.W. and its officers in the administration of money relief to cases eligible under their rules; it need hardly be said that such cases should always be undertaken by the C.S.W. on request. Similarly the administration of monies for central organisations which have no local branches in Margate should be undertaken when required, and the officers of the C.S.W. should make every effort to procure assistance for local cases from such central organisations if the necessary conditions are fulfilled.

94. It has been made clear in previous sections that in Margate to-day there are discernable the outlines of a "social plan," *i.e.*, of a definite local organisation of social life which has grown up as a result of the natural conditions of the site, and the historical development of the town. This way of looking at the internal organisation of a town is not new; it has, however, been but little used so far in connection with the organisation of local social work. From the beginning, however, the C.S.W. in Margate should keep this view of the town in mind, and should regard the study of the present social plan, and the development of that plan from year to year in accordance with current needs, as one of its important functions. It should, in fact, constantly ask the question: Is the provision for health, education, and recreation (so far as we have any influence over it) adequate and rightly placed in each separate district of the town? If not, how can this be improved? and that not merely by establishing new individual activities (*e.g.*, recreation grounds, clinics, and so on), but by relating these closely to the needs of the district population, and the problems apparent in the district.

95. It is to be expected that this aspect of the work of the C.S.W. will attract and hold the attention of representatives of educational and recreational organisations who may be but little interested in the personal service aspects of its work. Further activity along such lines must be closely related to the work of statutory bodies (*i.e.*,

development of new schools, new health centres, and so on), and to the extensions of the Survey mentioned above; these extensions providing the necessary factual basis for further social planning.

96. As the last of these suggestions, and that in a field as yet hardly touched by local Councils of Social Welfare, may be placed economic planning, *i.e.*, the working out and advocacy of practical schemes for bettering the economic situation in the town. This report has made it clear that the main economic problem of Margate is that of seasonal employment. Can the C.S.W. do anything to produce a radical lightening of the burden thus imposed? It need hardly be said that it can do little or nothing to affect the general provision for unemployment made by the public authorities, and that it should do nothing to weaken the personal initiative and forethought by which many of the workers in Margate meet the difficulties of the present situation. There seems, however, to be some possibility of work along two different lines.

97. FIRST: the economic problem of Margate might be examined from a new point of view, asking, not how the tourist or other industries can be developed, but what particular goods Margate at present imports from the outside world, and further, which, if any, of these goods could be produced locally by local effort. Again, how far could such production take place during the winter months? An economic Survey of Margate on these lines would reveal many new facts as to the economic position of the town, and it might reveal the possibility of instituting means of meeting locally certain needs which are met at present by imports from outside. It is impossible to say beforehand how far practical results will follow from such an enquiry; even if none followed, however, the situation would be clearer than it is at the moment.

98. SECOND: a careful enquiry might be made into the workings of the credit system in Margate. It has already been indicated that retail traders allow debts to run during the slack months of the year to be repaid during, or as a result of, the busy tourist season. No doubt this compels retailers in turn to ask wholesalers and bankers for credits or advances. Here, again, it cannot be said with any certainty that a practical scheme will necessarily follow from such an enquiry. There is, however, always the possibility that useful suggestions may be made; and there can be no question that some scheme of credit which would improve the position of the retailers and householders during the slack months, would have a marked effect for good upon social life in Margate

SOCIAL STUDIES IN MAJORCA.*

IN Majorca the influence of natural conditions upon the lives of the inhabitants is clearly marked. Geographically the island may be divided into three regions :—

- (1) THE Mountains—mainly along the north-west coast, but also occurring in scattered groups on the east and south-east.
- (2) THE foothills.
- (3) THE central and eastern plain.

THE mountains serve to protect the island from northerly winds. Their slope is very steep to the north, that is to the sea, and few footholds are left for man along this coast. To the south and east the slope is more gentle, and along the foothills are found a number of communities (Bunold, Alaro, Inca, Lloseta, Selva and Campanet). But it is the central and eastern plain where the principal human settlements are found, and communication between them is made by three main roads and three railway lines radiating out from Palma and running out to the south and east coasts.

As one passes along these main roads of the island, one notices that between one town and the next there are practically no villages. Indeed, this fact is impressed on the mind by the small army of peasants who are to be seen evening and morning trekking in their tiny carts in and out of the towns to work on their land, which may be some distance out.

ONE would have supposed that in an island which possesses 165 miles of coastlines, many of the towns would have been on the coast. With the one exception of Palma this is absolutely the reverse of fact—nearly all the towns lie some distance from the sea. In a number of cases a town lying inland has its port some miles away on the coast. The explanation is apparently that the risk of invasion to which Majorca has always been subject led to the early settlements being placed inland, so that warning might be given by outposts, and time for flight allowed, before the pirates could land.

It is no part of my task to deal with the vegetation or the agriculture, but I must in passing remind you, that after the geological and geographical conditions it is the vegetation, both natural and cultivated, which serves to determine man's ability to secure a livelihood in these different regions. The mountainous region produces little vegetation useful to man, excepting the ilex from which he can make charcoal. When you get down to the level of 2,000 feet the olive will grow, and the sheep and goat can find pasturage here and in the foothills.

*One of a series of papers read at the 1928 conference of Leplay House by members of the Tours Association, on places visited during the year.

The plain is a rich agricultural region excepting in the dry season, producing wheat, beans, barley, oats, rye and a variety of fruits, especially the fig, almond and grape.

It is not apparent that water supply, which usually is such a determining factor of human settlement, decided where man should live in Majorca. There are practically no rivers excepting after heavy rains, and for the most part goats may be seen getting their living on the vegetation of the dry torrent bed. Water is abundant underground, but it has to be brought up, consequently in some places every field has its windmill or reservoir, replacing the earlier *noria* or water wheel furnished with earthenware pots and turned by a blindfolded mule. Similarly going down one mountain road, we noticed a tiny aqueduct no wider than the cup of a human hand, carrying the slender trickle of a mountain spring several miles for the use of man at a lower level.

THE PEOPLE.

THE frequency with which the island has been invaded in bygone times has resulted in there being no pure Majorcan stock. The children (of whose numbers their parents will boast) are especially attractive, alike in features, vivacity and general carriage. This early beauty seems to pass quickly—and many of the women are too plump to retain their good looks long.

LITTLE distinctive costume survives. For the most part, the peasant women wear a long full skirt, a close fitting bodice over which is worn a shawl, and on the head is tied a three-cornered scarf below which hangs a long pig-tail. From an English point of view such clothing is unsuited to a warm and dusty climate, while the almost universal wearing of black by all sections of the community is foreign to our ideas of a land of sun and colour. The women of the towns go bare-headed excepting on ceremonial occasions, when a light mantilla is donned. Rope-soled canvas shoes, such as are worn in England for bathing, are universal wear in Majorca, and are well suited to streets which are often so dusty that the very tram lines are hidden.

THE Majorcans are a friendly and approachable people. Even though we could not talk their native dialect, they would come out of their way to put us on the right track, if we had taken a wrong turning, and helpfully pointing out places of interest we passed in the trams or indicated the correct coins for fare to our destination. It would be difficult to find a more courteous or good-tempered people.

THE impossibility of discovering a shop open during the period of the mid-day siesta, and the complete disappearance of our motor drivers during the hour sacred to their mid-day rest, as well as the

frequent occurrence of local feasts and holidays might give the impression that the Majorcan prefers his rest to his work. But there is abundant evidence to the contrary. The marvellous manner in which whole hillsides have been terraced, 7 feet of wall supporting a 2 foot shelf in order to preserve the soil of the hillsides for the cultivation of crops, is a testimony in Majorca, as in other parts of Europe, to the accumulated labour of generations of peasantry. The superb mountain roads with their amazing hairpin bends are a convincing proof of the Islanders' engineering skill and ability.

PALMA.

THE principal town of the island is a city of some 70,000 inhabitants. Seen from the incoming steamer in the early morning, reposing in the arc of its beautiful bay, Palma presents a picture in which white and cream and brown tones predominate. There is its Cathedral. Surely few Cathedrals occupy so superb a site. Standing so close to the shore that its south door is said to be reached by the spray in times of storm, it is the supreme note of the picture, whether seen from the wide-sweeping bay or from some distant height. Time does not permit any description of the Cathedral here, or of the Almudaina, which was the Arab citadel of the Island, or of the Lonja, once the Exchange of the merchant princes of Palma and now a museum. The old streets of Palma are narrow and flanked by tall houses, often unattractive outside, but opening through an archway on to a picturesque portico or open courtyard with its well and orange trees.

WE were interested to note that we had seen this Mediterranean type of house last year at Mont Ferrand in the Auvergne. A number of fine old houses belonging to the ancient nobles of Palma survive. The living quarters are reached by a fine stone staircase. Some of these palaces are open to inspection and their decoration, it may be said, puts to shame that of the State Apartments of Windsor Castle.

THE Majorcan considers the sunshine a thing to be avoided. The north rooms of an hotel are reckoned the best, houses are built with widely overhanging eaves, not as in Switzerland for keeping off the snow, but the sun. All shutters are tightly closed during the day even at Easter, and as one passes through a village of an afternoon, one may notice the women busy at embroidery behind closed glass doors. One is therefore not surprised that tuberculosis is common among the town dwellers. Living rooms are heated in the colder weather by a charcoal brazier. Most of the houses are built of stone, quarried on the Island, and its newer ones are covered with tiles of an attractive pie-crust colour.

VERY little traces remain in Palma of its earliest inhabitants or walls, but fortifications of a late date practically surround the city, and are

being cleared away when the vast quantities of stone they contain will be used for rebuilding.

OCCUPATIONS.

THE main occupations of the Majorcan are closely linked to the natural products of the Island. Of these agriculture and its allied occupations hold first place. Marble is quarried at Santany, stone at Arenal and Porto Cristo. Coal is mined to a small extent in the towns of the foothills.

THE industries of the Island are still for the most part at the craft stage rather than in factories. Walking along the streets of Palma, one passes the open doorway of many a workshop where cabinets, furniture, shoes, &c., are made under the eye of the passer-by without the aid of machinery. Thanks to the kindness of our local guide, Don Juan Capo, the party were able to visit a number of industries in the Island they would not otherwise have seen. These included the Extraction of Oil from Olives at Valldemosa; the Manufacture of Alcohol from Figs at Santa Margarita; and the covering of Wine Flasks with Cane. Here the following scene met the eye: Along a simple barn-like room, a number of girls of 16 to 18, were seated on low stools, their shawls round their shoulders and their pig-tails down their backs, but at the side of each were glass flagons and a heap of cane. Each girl had a knife for trimming the cane and that was her sole equipment. Wages are very low judged by British standards. We saw also the making of Rough Pottery and Tiles at Inca, where the amphora-like waterpots, a relic of those used by the Romans, are made. Another local form of pottery is of beautiful butter-coloured ware, needing no further decoration to emphasise the simplicity of its form and colouring. Again, there was a Carpet Factory, and it alone was equipped with machinery.

THE application of a cheap local product to the manufacture of everyday utensils is clearly seen in the use of the basket in Majorca, for purposes which to a British mind it is not well suited. Metal is scarce and for the most part has to be imported, while nature has given the Majorcans material to make baskets. So household refuse is put outside for collection in one which resembles that in which a British carpenter carries his tools. Men shovelling gravel or seaweed into a cart do not throw it from the level of their feet into the cart, but move it from the ground into a basket and then lift the basket and tip its contents into the cart.

ON the outskirts of Palma and at Manacor more modern factories are beginning to spring up, and it is here that shoes, &c., are being manufactured by the use of German capital. Germany has no island in the Mediterranean, and it appears that she is trying to get hold upon Majorca and is beginning to exploit its rich natural resources and plentiful supply of cheap labour.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

EDUCATION.

OUR guide was anxious that the party should not leave Majorca without being impressed by the number and excellence of its schools. I may say that the teachers of the party certainly were impressed not only by the new buildings, sometimes with open-air classrooms, but also by the youth and enthusiasm of the teaching staff and the methods employed. Majorca is endeavouring to repaint the map of its own illiteracy, which in parts has been very black, and it complains that the Spanish government will not allow it to have all the money it wants for education. The party found a mine of useful information in the Pedagógico Museum in Palma, where models and maps of all kinds relating to the history, social life and industries of the Island, made by the children of the schools are preserved for the instruction of the teachers of the rising generation.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE.

THE strong hold which the Church has upon the people of Majorca is symbolised by the dominance of the Cathedral above the whole city. In our short stay we saw many concrete instances of its influence, the educational system is a dual one, under the control both of the state and the religious orders. Certain institutions, notably the workhouse, are staffed by Sisters of the Church, and to the social student this appeared to create an atmosphere full of kindness, and free from officialdom. The notices in the trams implore passengers not only "not to spit" but also "not to swear," and, at the time of our visit, at least one village was decorated with banners bearing the words "Down with Swearing," "War on Blasphemy." Again the survival in the Island of a number of hospices where the pilgrims may receive several days free hospitality, so long as he brings his own food and prepares it, testify to the survival of a religious habit among the people. The trouble and hardships which crowds of the peasant population will endure in making religious pilgrimage were well seen by our party at the Monastery of Lluch, where whole families had travelled a long and difficult road into the mountains on the Saturday, and once there tried to cook their food out of doors in the pouring rain by holding an umbrella over the open fire. Such enthusiasm expended for the sake of obtaining a blessing from our Lady of Lluch tells its own tale.

RECREATION.

THE Majorcan peasant puts in long hours of work during the week, but on Sundays after his religious duties he finds time to enjoy himself. Palma has its bull fights, its football and its cycling track, and some of us happened to alight one Sunday afternoon upon the Hampstead Heath of Palma. At a distance of a tram journey out along the bay

is a low rocky shore where pine trees, cistus and shrubs make a kind of natural park with winding paths by the water's edge. Here whole families had betaken themselves for the Sunday afternoon—there was singing, dancing and merrymaking—tea was made over a camp fire in the open—and later in the evening, when we saw these same people returning to Palma by tram, tired and happy, some of them had, tied up in their handkerchiefs and trying to crawl out, a quantity of snails they had collected as a delicacy for the next day's meal.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

IN the short two weeks of our stay it seemed to me that to the social student Majorca presents a curious mixture of primitive conditions, coupled with a spirit of enterprise and progress, though much of what I have already said illustrates this point. When one sees the goat-herd bringing round his jolly looking herd of brown goats to be milked at the door of the customer, one realises that Palma has not yet organised its milk supply along Grade A. lines. Again, the inhabitants of Alcudia still live within the Roman Walls and use the Roman gate—the town has apparently not grown in size since Roman Times. On the other hand, we saw in the Pedagogic Museum some town-planning maps of Palma. One showed a possible extension of the port by the building of a new anchor-shaped mole which would provide another double harbour. At Soller we saw surveying going on, and were told that there was a scheme to deepen that harbour and bring steamers across from Barcelona in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours to the north coast instead of the present 11 hours involved in reaching Palma on the south. I am sure that those of us who appreciated the simplicity and unconventionalism of Majorcan life hoped that day would be long distant. In fact, Majorca has vast natural resources and an industrious and capable people. We understood that it need have no poor. The Majorcan's lot is a very different one from that of the Breton peasant round Carnac whom we saw two years ago, whose hardest toil can never make his livelihood other than a poor one. We found the Majorcan has variety of occupation, width of interest and a pleasant climate.

M. MAPLEDEN.

COMMUNICATIONS.

IS INSANITY UNSOCIAL ?

THE following letter has been received from Dr. George Yeisley Rusk, of U.S.A. :

" IN the October number of THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW Miss Alice Raven enumerates the chief characteristics of the various sorts of insanity, which, she holds, can easily be detected, and the persons afflicted can be saved from crime by immediate detention in a hospital. With the article in general I am in complete agreement. I wish to raise a question about only one statement made by the author—though it is substantially repeated several times. She writes, on page 287: 'In all his thinking he (the insane man) has himself and his own advantage as the centre.' But is insanity always unsocial in the thought of the person afflicted? My observation would suggest that it is not! (1) In some cases the insane man blames *himself*—possibly for deeds which he has not done, and is grateful to society for searching him out and in trying to redeem him—possibly in larger ways than society has done. One patient, on arriving home in a deluded condition, cried out to his family: 'O love that wilt not let me go.' He thought that his family had been seeking to redeem him from imagined sins all his life. It is true that even in this case the patient was thinking of his own advantage—but not in opposition to the advantage of society. Yet it is in the sense of in-opposition-to-the-advantage-of-society that Miss Raven uses the term 'his own advantage,' for she had written earlier of the 'anti-social tendencies which mark all persons of abnormal psychology.' (2) In some cases the chief comfort that the insane man has in his terrors is that no other human being has ever been called to go through worse tortures than he is experiencing. He identifies himself with all the most unfortunate of his fellow men—'even these least.' (3) In some cases the insane man is interested in himself only as a servant of a real truth which society needs. Even when his truth is an obvious delusion, his attitude is not anti-social. Would the author say that Jesus was anti-social? Jesus thought of himself as a martyr for truth. Dr. J. H. Jowett once declared that Jesus was either God-man or mad-man. (4) And in some cases a man stops 'striving' and so goes insane more or less consciously in order to reveal to society that it is not giving a square deal to himself and to a considerable number of its other members. And any society which allows some members—perhaps through the mere inheritance of a fortune—to live in wanton luxury while it refuses work to many eager to work at anything at all equal to their intelligence and training is essentially unjust. A man can generally get some futile help from charity, but he may be too *socially* sensitive to accept it—till after he has gone insane and so cannot help himself. Or perhaps the work offered him will prevent his carrying out a purpose which *he* at least thinks of as socially valuable. Or prospective employers may encourage a man to wait, and still wait, for the position in which he can serve society as he desires—but never actually give him the position. In any of these cases a man may let his mind fall to pieces in order to get the help of society to get a proper position and to reveal to society its essential injustice and so aid it to reform. Even when personal complexes must share with society the responsibility for the wrecking of a man's life, these can be read as the result of the foolish taboos which society has placed upon him. At last the man by a multitude of at least partly conscious mental acts gives in and gives up, i.e., goes insane. He lets society have its way. He declares emphatically what it is by the very going insane, and

permits it to begin its own redemption by saving him. A man can thus have a profound influence upon society. Much of the modern study of the mind may be said to have been forced upon society by those who went insane rather than give up purposes which they held as consecrated.

"INSANITY may, then, in very important respects, be social. Perhaps we may go on and say a word about the social significance of the life of a person who has not completely adjusted himself to society and has not been successful—before he has had his definite breakdown. Is it necessary to tell such a patient that his failure was due to his own deficiencies, that his whole past life has been so mistaken that society was justified in rejecting him and causing him to fail, that his labours have had no value, his bitter sacrifices have been useless, his protests against society have had no objective justification, that at best he is a victim of his infantile history, not at all the martyr of his true ideals? Social reformers are apt to place too exclusive an emphasis upon the injustice of the social environment as the cause of the destruction of the personalities of human beings. Psychiatrists, too little. A reading of case histories shows that the latter have not come to any definite conclusion about the question. In trying to tear down the patient's idea of himself and of society so that it can be rebuilt in such wise that the patient will be reconciled to society, the psychiatrist, perhaps inadvertently, sometimes condemns the entire past life of the patient, in no respect permits the patient to think that in any of his defeats he has been at all right and society wrong, that his past life as manifested in society has been essentially worthy.

"Now I do not believe that society has as yet so fully become the 'beloved community' that such a view of the past life of every patient can be held to be true. Insistence upon its truth naturally retards the reviving confidence of a patient in his doctor, and so in society, whose representative the doctor is to the patient. The patient may rightly believe that as a result of his tragic experiences, his deep ponderings, he has come upon profound, revolutionary truths, which society is not ready to accept and rejects him because he is 'a voice crying in the wilderness.' Grant the possibility of all this, then the psychiatrist may win the patient to reconciliation to society more quickly than by the present denials, confusions or aversions. Imply that an insane person is anti-social until converted by the particular evangelist in charge, and that there is nothing of sacrificial worth in his life ('Nothing in my hand I bring, simply to *Thy* word I cling'), it follows that he will remain unconverted. But make clear that psychic health does not imply a denial of the value of the devotion to truth in the former life of the patient, and he may be reconciled to his doctor, and to society.

"ANY tendency on the part of a patient toward vindictive bitterness against society because of what he has endured can be overcome by revealing all the members of society as the victims of complexes and conditions as well as the patient, and so as worthy of the same respect (though in varying degrees) that he asks for himself. At length he will see society as a drama of conflicting forces out of which is slowly being evolved 'the beloved community,' which is the 'Kingdom of God.' In this evolution his struggles have an essential place. All detention of a patient in a hospital as too unsocial to be at large—for his own good and that of society, till he renounces faith in himself and accepts the conditions prevailing in the hospital—for instance, continuous immoralities, as calmly as he would the truly necessary injustices out in the world, or until he becomes as docile to superiors as is a hundred per cent. American, is unjustified."

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA.

THIS book was received in January, 1928. In reply to certain criticisms made at that time the following letter has been received from Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Booksellers, Bombay :—

"WHILST we do not take exception to your criticism of Professor Phadke's work as a whole, we feel it incumbent on our part to reply to those portions of it in which you so strongly stress the point 'Why should Professor Phadke have written *in English* a popular propaganda book exclusively addressed to Indians?'

"Two good reasons existed for this. The first was to create a strong public opinion in India in favour of eugenic life, and circulate throughout the country the principles enunciated in the book. Your reviewer is possibly under the misapprehension that there is only one language common to India, and he has therefore come to the conclusion that the book should not have been written in English, but in India's mother tongue. We would invite his attention to Chapter VII. of the IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA, Vol. 1, pp. 349-401, on languages, from which he will observe that five main divisions of human speech have their existence, as vernaculars, in this country, which in turn are grouped into 147 dialects spoken by a population of about three hundred millions.

"IN the circumstances, it was not possible to publish the work in a *single* vernacular for the whole of India. On the other hand, English is now considered to be the standard language of this country, and as it is well understood by the educated classes in all Provinces, we deemed it the most suitable medium through which we could approach the masses through their Leaders, and adopted it.

"FURTHER, the book is intended to serve as an unbiassed study of the varied social customs prevalent in India and to beget interest and enlightenment on the subject in England and America, where gross ignorance prevails generally as to Indian conditions. This is our other motive for having printed the work in English.

"IT was by a mere coincidence, that our book was issued on the same day in India as was Miss Mayo's MOTHER INDIA in America. From a comparison, it will be seen that although Professor Phadke in a measure supports Miss Mayo's indictment, his review vindicates and corrects some of the unfounded allegations noted in Miss Mayo's book.

"WE trust that in fairness to us, you will publish this letter in the columns of your esteemed Journal."

ATTENTION is directed to the Spring Tour (May 15th to 24th) of "The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association." The itinerary this year includes visits to The Hague, Amsterdam, Frankfort, Cologne, Dusseldorf, and Essen. Arrangements have been made with the local authorities, and representatives of these cities will accompany the party. The tour offers valuable opportunities of studying municipal development of the most varied character. A detailed programme and other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, 3 Gray's Inn Place, W.C. 1.

INSTITUT FRANCAIS DE SOCIOLOGIE.

At the December meeting of this Society, M. L. Levy-Bruhl gave some impressions of his recent journey to Central America. He called attention to two facts of sociological importance: colonisation and the Indian question. United States penetration, he said, in the affairs of the small Central American Republics was preparing the way for the colonisation of these countries to the almost exclusive profit of Americans. The advantage derived by Central America itself was very meagre. For instance, a powerful society, the United Fruit Company, had made from eight to ten milliard francs, principally by exporting bananas, without applying any of the profit to the amelioration of the country (hygiene, education, or public works). Economic appropriation had doubled itself by strong political pressure, and certain of the small States, like Salvador and Costa-Rica, were really vassals. Reaction was expressing itself in cultural interests; States were turning towards Latin Europe, especially towards France, which enjoyed a great prestige in the country.

THE Indian question did not affect all of them. It was hardly apparent, for example, in Costa-Rica or Salvador, but in Guatemala and elsewhere it had become acute. Should the natives be regarded as degenerate elements definitely incapable of assimilation or were they capable of a high degree of development? It was a subject that was worth impartial investigation.

M. RIVET, who was also present, was of the opinion that the people of Indian stock were by no means inferior. The trouble arose because their rights had been abused. Their desire for freedom was very intense, and disagreeable surprises might be in store unless a shrewd and sympathetic policy were adopted. M. Rivet carefully examined this question at Brazil last summer. In that Republic an ethnical amalgamation was proceeding with extraordinary rapidity. The negro problem had been solved in this way because there was a complete absence of colour prejudice. As far as intellectual life was concerned he found that the French language was well known in Brazil, particularly among women. Sociological theory could hardly be said to exist, but there were fine museums at Rio, St. Paul, &c., containing some very remarkable traces of old civilisations which have entirely disappeared.

M. FAUCONNET, who has returned from Peru, reported that some scholars (notably at Arequipa), were devoting themselves to descriptive sociology. He visited some beautiful museums in Lima. French religious bodies have spread a knowledge of their language, but methods of practical instruction in the mission schools were out-of-date. The native problem did not seem to be acute in Peru. U.S. appropriation, however, was considered an urgent matter. Almost all the natural resources and large businesses were in the hands of Americans. France had scarcely any part in the economic development of the country, but her intellectual influence was apparent. M. Fauconnet mentioned a demand for French translations of German and English works, &c.

DETAILED reference has already been made to the JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS (Columbia University, New York). The first number was published in March of this year. Twelve numbers will be issued during 1929. The yearly subscription of six dollars includes an annual index.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

LEPLAY HOUSE.

THE following particulars will serve as a useful guide to members and all who may be interested in the work of Leplay House. Leaflets can be obtained on application to the Secretary, 65 Belgrave Road, S.W.1.

LEPLAY HOUSE, with which is associated the Sociological Society, exists to promote three allied objects. These are the scientific study of communities; the use of such studies and their results in education; and their use in the future development of both town and countryside.

LEPLAY HOUSE was opened in 1920 as a centre for work on the lines indicated, and as Headquarters for the Sociological Society and its Cities Committee, which had been promoting similar objects since 1904. Other bodies, such as the Civic Education League and the Regional Association made the House their Headquarters from 1920. A close union between all these bodies has developed and the House with their combined membership and organisation is now, in effect, an Institute of Sociology, pure and applied.

CIVIC and Regional Surveys have from the first been considered one of the chief means of promoting the objects named. Such Surveys are comprehensive and scientific studies of individual Cities and Regions from every point of view. They are the means by which the social and economic life of particular communities may be understood as a whole, and they are therefore indispensable to the solution of problems and to plans for future development. They have wide application in education; and they are the necessary basis of scientific social theories.

Development Surveys. The value of Civic and Regional Surveys in connection with Town and Regional Planning is already widely recognised. Further, their value in more general planning for the Social and Economic development of a city or region is becoming clear; the Survey method should also, obviously, be used in dealing with particular local problems. Surveys with such applications in view are now being discussed by Local Authorities in connection with various aspects of their work, and Local Voluntary Associations interested in social work and civic or regional development are also projecting Surveys from their special points of view.

LEPLAY HOUSE is now generally recognised as a centre for propaganda, study and research in connection with Development Surveys. It supplies any information that may be needed in connection with projects for local Surveys, sends out lecturers and demonstrators to explain Survey methods and results, and provides experienced Survey workers if required.

Educational Surveys. In addition to these practical applications the Civic or Regional Survey has great value in education—Elementary, Secondary, University and Adult. Work on a local Survey gives reality to things learned from books, promotes good citizenship, and encourages knowledge of and interest in local life and conditions.

MUCH attention has been given at Leplay House to the educational aspects and uses of Surveys; enquiries for advice and assistance in such work are constantly being dealt with.

Field Study and Training. Meetings at which groups of workers undertake experimental Surveys of a town and its surrounding region are held regularly at different centres by Leplay House. These meetings give an opportunity for work under experienced leaders, and have been found of great value by those who need training in Survey methods.

Foreign Field Study. City and Rural studies are organised by the Foreign Work Committee during every vacation. These Meetings have before them the purpose of giving an opportunity of first-hand study in different parts of Europe. Experienced leaders go with the groups, and with the help of local specialists are thus able to assist members towards understanding new regions by placing the fullest amount of information at their disposal. The visiting of all local Educational and Social Institutions is a definite part of each programme arranged.

Exhibitions. Leplay House has a large and constantly growing collection of materials for exhibition. This already includes examples of some fifty different Surveys from all parts of Great Britain and many countries abroad. These materials are of great value as studies of the regions covered and as models to be followed in other Surveys. Requests for the loan of selected examples to local exhibitions and to Colleges and Schools in all parts of the country are always acceded to so far as possible.

THERE is a standing Exhibition of materials on show in the Council Room at Leplay House.

Publications. The publication of suitable materials is one of the chief means of promoting and assisting Civic and Regional Surveys. A series of books and pamphlets has therefore been published by the Leplay House Press, dealing with the methods and technique of Surveys and with the theory of their use and purpose.

RECORDS or reports of completed Surveys have also been published either separately or in the periodicals issued in connection with the House. Copies of reports not so published can be seen at Leplay House.

Library. A Library is maintained for the use of members. This contains a large collection of Sociological periodicals (English and Foreign), of books on Sociology and Surveys, and of records of Surveys in this country and abroad.

FOR particulars of membership and for any further details of the work of Leplay House, write to Miss E. W. Spear, Secretary, Leplay House, 65 Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W.1.

IN a letter to the Editor, Professor Parmelee writes :

"FOR the past three months I have been in Moscow observing the new society in process of growth. It is a strange mixture of new and old, conservative and radical. The high-power propaganda for it within Russia (the opposing propaganda is completely suppressed) and the propaganda against it on the outside are equally misleading. No one can foresee what will come out of this strange brew.

"AMONG other things I have been studying the extraordinary awakening of popular self-consciousness, widespread influence of science, disappearance of religion, subjection of individual to social interests, emphasis on the care of the child, new type of marriage, exaltation of work and of machinery, quasi-religion of communism and Messianic zeal of the Bolsheviks, deification of great men (e.g., Lenin, Marx, &c.), education directed towards merging the individual in the mass, new type of militarism, increase of population and its regulation, emergence of a new type of chauvinism, means of social control, &c."

PONTIGNY, 1929.

As a young man many years ago Paul Desjardins made a wide impression with a little book, *LE DEVOIR PRESENT*, which bore much fruit, as notably in promoting and extending the rise and growth of the Union pour l'Action Morale, which soon embraced thousands of members throughout France, especially social-minded teachers, with an excellent organ of its own, *ethopolitic* and educational especially. Since the war, the resumed group now calls itself the Union pour la Verité, and besides its Paris centre, it has developed a conveniently accessible and important country home in Burgundy, largely composed of noble remains of the old Benedictine abbey of Pontigny; well-repaired for residential purposes, well-supplied with varied books, and now available as a centre of pilgrimage for rest and study, open at all times of the year; but in its fullest activity during August and early September, as a centre for discussions on various large and well-chosen topics, which attract alike men of letters, arts and sciences, and an élite of teachers, for the most part from leading lycées and colleges. Thus the subjects of the coming vacation season are I. (August 10-20): The Bourgeoisie, as myth, as fact and as spirit; II. (August 21-31): The success of the Classical Spirit in Art; and III. (September 1-11): The Transformation of Speculative Doctrines concerning the Universe of Nature, and its effects in the field of Vital Truths. One is at liberty to enrol for any one, two, or all these "Decadis" (ten-day periods); but this should be done early, as accommodation is limited. The all-inclusive terms are very moderate, and can be obtained, with extended prospectus, from the Secrétaire des Entretiens, Abbaye de Pontigny (Yonne), France. Varied excursions are also arranged to innumerable places of interest within easy reach—both during and after each Decadi. Participation, both in discussions and outings, can be confidently recommended from experience. Here, in fact, is one of the very best of continental centres of the kind appropriate and congenial to the interests shared by this REVIEW and its readers, by Leplay House and all such groups in the English-speaking world, and already attracting the like from other countries, German-speaking included.

P. G.

GENERAL PRICE MOVEMENTS AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

A DISCOVERY of considerable importance and interest to economists and statisticians is put forward by Messrs. Ferguson and Montgomery, of the International Institute of Agriculture. In the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURE for January, 1929, the problem of price formation and stabilisation which has recently been considered by the Financial Committee of League of Nations as an economic problem of the most baffling nature is professedly solved by evidence that world agricultural production, especially wheat, determines movements of general price level. If that is so the old medieval custom of basing wages on wheat prices would be largely justified. The evidence advanced by the writers should lead to a considerable advance in price forecasting. They suggest an interesting solution of the price stabilisation problem and the redistribution of gold stocks throughout the world.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE POPULATION QUESTION.

THE SHADOW OF THE WORLD'S FUTURE: OR, THE EARTH'S POPULATION POSSIBILITIES AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PRESENT RATE OF INCREASE OF THE EARTH'S INHABITANTS: by Sir George Handley Knibbs, C.M.G., F.R.A.S. Ernest Benn Ltd. 1928. (131 pp).

In this survey the "greatest possible population" problem is discussed not only as dependent on the food supply, or on the other material resources of the globe, but also as a function of the efficiency of human organisation, the appropriate localisation of human beings on the earth, the standard of living adopted and the freedom of migration attained. The possibility of control of the factors involved by the exercise of human intelligence, foresight and goodwill is the note emphasised by the author, although he never minimises the extreme difficulty of the task that lies before man in view of the present high rate of increase of population, a task in itself arduous and more so because of the dead weight of ignorance and indifference that must be overcome in ourselves.

So far as the calculations of future possibilities of population are exclusively mathematico-physical, Sir George Knibbs shows that they are to be based on the following factors:

1. The present rate of world increase in population, which is probably about six-sevenths or 0.65 per cent. per annum, slightly lower than that computed for 1800-1900 (0.874), but immensely greater than the world rate in the past. Such a rate, as in 1928 (i.e., 1,950 millions) if continued would double the world population in 105 years;
2. The computed extent of (a) productive; (b) arable land of the world's total land surface, viz., 52.5 million square miles. Statistics are recorded only for a total of 24.3 million square miles, but it is considered that the proportions ascertained of productive, non-productive and unspecified areas may be applied with a fair degree of certainty to the whole 52.5 million square miles. The resulting world figures are thus: productive land, 16.4 million square miles (arable 5.1), non-productive 13.6, and unspecified 22.5 million square miles;
3. The world average yield per acre of the arable land devoted to cereals, the present estimate being about fourteen bushels per acre;
4. The cereal consumption per individual, which is taken as including the needs of dependent animals and the requirements for seed corn as about 473 lbs. per annum;
5. The area of productive land (excluding forest land) estimated as required by each human being for support of life. Here Prof. East's estimate (in *MANKIND AT THE CROSS ROADS*, 1923) of 2.5 acres per person is taken as the basis, although with certain modifications in the course of the argument.

It is obvious that some of these factors are variables: in the first place the actual rate of population increase is subject to influences some within man's control, some not; among the other variables may be noted: (a) the large "unspecified" area of world land surface of which some part may well

prove productive : (b) the extent of land classed as arable which may advance* from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the world land surface, judging from Japan and from the extension of improved land regarded as practicable for the United States by its Bureau of Agricultural Economics (See U.S. AGRICULTURE YEAR BOOK, 1921) : (c) the world average of cereal yield which in the case of wheat is only one quarter of the maxima yield of the regions of improved and intensive culture. A more universal adoption of such methods as transplanting or artificial supply of carbon dioxide would almost certainly raise this average.

ACCORDING as one or another set of data is taken as a basis, estimates of possible world populations are obtained, ranging from 4,200 millions (reckoning 2.5 acres of land at present productive per person) to 8,950 millions taking the cereal consumption as the basis and allowing for an increased percentage of arable land as indicated. Higher figures are indicated, but 11,700 millions is regarded as an absolute limit. The lowest figure would be reached, if the present rate of population should be maintained, in about 120 years.

It is impossible here to weigh the different probabilities nor indeed does Sir George Knibbs attempt to do so. He does, however, state that 7,800 millions, or the 1928 population quadrupled, is a limit which in his view will only be passed with great difficulty, for reasons which transcend the purely mathematico-physical standpoint. The population problem, he says, "involves our whole conception of life."

THE effect of advances in science and technology, of extension of productive areas, even of modifications of diet, cannot be ignored, but equally cannot be calculated. From the sociological point of view the striking interest of the enquiry made by the writer is that, although pre-eminently a statistician, he regards the sociological criterion as the one ultimately ruling all others. He returns again and again to the need of a high degree of organisation of human effort, based on a survey, as it were, that will take account of the available surface of the world in all its diversity, as well as of the productive powers of its different peoples.† Organised redistribution of densities must be undertaken, if the increased population masses are not to stifle and starve—as indeed they already begin to do—and for this end national egoisms must be mitigated or disappear. In fact, "the virtual elimination of all forms of unscrupulous egoism" is the only condition under which the prospect of the future pressure of population on this globe is tolerable; if wastage and destruction of resources, whether by war or any forms of ruthless competition or by senseless luxury should continue, if national jealousies and greed survive, the outlook is indeed dark. Even with goodwill to the utmost the complexity of human interests is very great and it can be no easy task to bring about the complete and harmonious correlation of human activities, agricultural, industrial, distributive and administrative, which would be the pre-requisite for the secure, contented and "humane" existence of a greatly increased world population. But the preliminary steps towards the achievement of this end are being taken, with the gradual diffusion into the public conscience, infiltration one might say, of the theory and practice of regionalism, the increasing organisation and co-ordination of economic research in all progressive countries, and the gradual growth of the international spirit.

*It has recently been estimated that in Australia the land under cultivation could easily be extended from 1.5% of the whole surface to 5%.

†As a move in this direction may be noted the World Agricultural Census which is being arranged for 1930-31, under the auspices of the Rockefeller Trust and the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome.

FREUD.

SIGMUND FREUD: HIS PERSONALITY, HIS TEACHING, AND HIS SCHOOL: by Fritz Wittels. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

HERE is a biography which deserves a place among those which are of life-penetrating and character-revealing quality, happily now increasing; and which does both author and subject credit, and this in ways unusual. For the author is a former disciple of Freud's, who has shared the fate of so many others, in falling out from their ranks, as many do, the "father-and-son difficulty" seeming practically as rife and active in this distinguished group, as in their thought and writings, as leader and school. To write Freud's biography after this break, and this fairly, even loyally and sympathetically, albeit with outspoken criticism; and for Freud to write a letter, here printed at the outset, accepting the book on the whole, and with but moderate reservations, are thus however evidences that the father-and-son difficulty is not so serious or insuperable after all, as they so often make us think. That Freud's life and doctrine are not a little coloured by—if not even largely derived from—his own difficulties as a son, is clearly revealed. Yet more than this appears also. Though Freud's doctrines have obviously wide social issues, and provide clues, which not a few of his disciples have been following, into social life and its voices in literature, he has himself chosen to concentrate, as a good physician commonly must, upon the fundamental problems suggested by his many patients in their varied troubles, for which he has been searching out so many fundamental elements of organic and psychologic interpretations. Yet from its first pages the book reveals that Freud's concentration, on such productivity, is no ordinary case of limitation of inquiry to his important field of special investigation, but includes no small elements of repression or inhibition, of wider elements as well. This is indicated by early fascination by the life and thought of Goethe, and still more by his frequent dreamings of the name of Joseph, so far influenced since childhood from his home in Kaiser Josef Strasse in Vienna; yet we cannot but think also by the Joseph of far greater career, with his vicissitudes in his ascent from Egyptian slave to vizier, and this initiated through his dream-reading powers! Thus, too, his biographer writes:

"ON leaving school Freud went to England . . . This journey expanded his outlook greatly. In Austria he had never been able to escape the sense of inferiority which early affected him, as it does all Jews in German-speaking lands, and especially those who move in intellectual circles. In England, Freud renewed acquaintance with members of his family who had escaped this danger. Furthermore, conversations with his half-brother gave Freud a fuller and more affectionate understanding of his father. Thus the journey was important in that it put a term to some of those conflicts which none of us escape during adolescence."

AGAIN—"the prevalence of antisemitism creates in the minds of the Jews a passionate 'Why?' In favourable circumstances, this urgent questioning may have results of considerable scientific importance. It has certainly a good deal to do with the genesis of the revolutionary sentiments which are so widespread among the Jews."

AFTER a story from his father of an insult by a Christian, Freud relates (and in his "Interpretation of Dreams"), "I recalled the scene when Hannibal's father had made his son swear upon the altar eternal hostility to Rome. Thenceforward, Hannibal had a place in my fantasies." To this the biographer adds, "Hannibal became the revolutionary-minded lad's favourite hero," and "another heroic figure that always loomed large before Freud's imagination was that of Cromwell, the regicide."

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"WHEN Freud's own children were growing up, their father's mind was much exercised as to how he could save them from a sense of inferiority, whose dangers were well known to him. He appears to think that the Nationalist idea is a good antidote to the sense of inferiority. For many years he himself has been a member of the Jewish Freemasons' Lodge . . . May there not be good reason to suppose that the cult of filial piety . . . would be a better, a nobler, a more aristocratic way of counter-acting the sense of inferiority? . . . For ages the Jews have followed this road."

IN recognising such social—and, in the full sense, political—feelings and dreams, repressions and sublimations, are we not penetrating to something at least of the passage of protest in Freud's otherwise mostly appreciative letter to his biographer:

"It seems to me that the public has no concern with my personality, and can learn nothing from an account of it, so long as my case (for manifold reasons) cannot be expounded without any reserve whatever."

OF course in this little attempt at psycho-analysis of the great psycho-analyst there is no antisemitic feeling, but quite the reverse; since really inspired by active experience of—and even in—Zionism, with its magnificent re-vindication of Israel.

ONE of the many factors of Freud's career has surely also been the continuance of the time-honoured and still manifest distinction of Jews in medicine; as before and from old Montpellier, and other schools, throughout the world around us, to this day. Witness not only Freud himself, and so many of his disciples, but also Ehrlich, Wassermann, and others too numerous to mention. Psycho-analysis may thus be more and more supplemented by social analysis.

COMING, however, to the body of the book, its account of Freud's scientific development, stage by stage, seems admirably done. So also the chapters dealing with Freud's main results, as of dream-interpretation, of mistakes of common life, and so on; so that this book can be recommended as a more attractive introduction to the essential doctrines of psycho-analysis than can be the more technical volumes that start the reader with the subject as now developed, though naturally such books are needed after this one. So, too, for the chapters on Jung, Adler, and Stekel, with their contributions, and their divergencies.

YET all this important literature of psycho-analysis needs much of fresh consideration; and this not only from the social standpoint. For we need a more general view of sex than that of these eminent physicians, necessarily specialising throughout life on more or less pathological subjects. That is, they are not sufficiently at home in their general subject, as are naturalists. For we go on tracing out the basal phenomena normal to sex; and these not simply in healthy human life and love, but throughout organic nature, up and down the animal world, and the plant world too. It is not to be forgotten that the enormous boom of psycho-analysis throughout the past half-generation is not a little due to the curiosities, and pruriencies, and worse, of modern life, with its little knowledge of living nature, as in the great cities especially, yet these blighting and demoralising the country too. Hence we modern people have practically all more or less suffered from the ignorances and mis-impressions of an utterly inadequate and defective sex-education, and the want of a better. There are, of course, in the animal world sexual phenomena which unpleasantly recall human sex-evils, and even degenerations from which humanity is exempt; but these are after all mere exceptions and curiosities in the sex-life, and insignificant in comparison with its main developments; as from simple protophytes and

cryptogams up to lily and rose ; and again, from dawning animal beginnings, to peacock, skylark and doves. And again in the like way from simplest mammalian pairings, to the lyric and fully musal ecstasies of poets to their inspirers. Psycho-analysts are indeed coming to consider more and more of this ; yet, so far as one's reading goes, not yet sufficiently bringing out this true flowering of life into their interpretations : so there too much remains fundamentally medical still ; studies of elements of development too largely morbid, and thus however subtly psychiatric, not biological enough. Hence with all their insistence on the importance of the libido in life, they have still to see this more fully in its uplifting significance ; indeed, as a main factor in organic evolution. And this even definitely, in the origin of at least many species. For (unless Arthur Thomson's and my interpretations, as in "Sex," be definitely disproved), we can account for the differentiation of goat from sheep, of buffalo from cow, of wasp from bee, and so on, not simply through spontaneous and indefinite variations proving profitable in the struggles for existence, as Darwinians too simply and too vaguely explain these. For we see these as sex-preponderances of "temperament," in both biologic and psychologic aspects, developing definite masculoid and feminoid species, from common simpler ancestry. In other such ways we may alike profit, by bringing more of such general biological view-points into psycho-analysis ; as well as conversely. Is it not indeed too much the exaggerations and revolts of more or less disordered sex, with its pruriencies and shames, which explain the prudery of Mrs. Grundy on the one hand, and, on the other, stir up the psycho-analysts themselves, to their own surely sometimes extreme liberation-proposals, and which also have so strongly brought before them the inner restraints and repressions of "the censor."

So as psycho-analytic physicians broaden out to sex-hygienists, and thus, beyond the hospital and clinique, come to establish the yet more needed preventorium, they will at once find this, and prescribe it, as the garden of the normal home, with its seasonal drama of the glory, purity and beauty of sex, as in the lily ; whose purity is that of the full and open expression of active sex, naked and unashamed. So, too, the farmhouse, bringing up its children with the kindly creatures in sane-sex-education ; as among their new kittens, rabbits and puppies, and with no morbid mysteries around calves and colts, or baby brothers and sisters either. Such children will thus be less and less appreciably "poly-perverse" ; but grow up from the innocence and love of their pet lamb to such organic vigour and tenderness of healthy parentage in their own turn.

P. G.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES: A HANDBOOK OF INFORMATION AND DIRECTORY OF ORGANISATIONS. National Council of Social Service (Incorporated), 26 Bedford Square, W.C. 1. 1928. (2s. net.)

THIS HANDBOOK is the complement of the Handbook on PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES issued by the National Council, which has become a generally recognised handy-book for the use of social workers. No doubt VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE will gain a recognition as wide and cordial. The information is clear, full and well arranged, and the needs of the practical social worker are kept in view throughout. It is to be hoped that all possible support will be given to the publication : it may be assumed that its promoters will welcome the opportunity of enlarging and improving it in future editions.

THE GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF CHICAGO: by J. Paul Goode. University of Chicago Press. 1926. 8vo. (75 cents.)

THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE REGION OF CHICAGO: by F. M. Fryzell. Prepared by the Local Research Committee and the Chicago Commonwealth Club for the Chicago Regional Planning Association. University of Chicago Press. 1927. 4to.

TRENDS OF POPULATION IN THE REGION OF CHICAGO: by Helen R. Jeter. University of Chicago Press. 1927. 4to. (12s. 6d. net.)

THESE three publications have reached us at various times from our friends who are concerned in the Great Survey of Chicago. They are on standard lines, and therefore perhaps less interesting to the Sociologist than some of the other publications now coming from the same source. All, however, show good workmanlike treatment of their subjects, and one cannot but envy the resources available for graphical and cartographical illustration.

THE first-mentioned booklet contains 27 short sections, illustrated by 31 good maps and graphs, which are, however, rather small in size and scale. It deals briefly with the influence of natural conditions in determining the site of Chicago, and lays chief emphasis on the economic conditions which have helped its great development. It is thus a study of the wide region that looks to Chicago as the economic capital.

THE second publication is devoted to a much more detailed study of the site and immediate surroundings of Chicago. It has four large coloured maps, admirably executed, and a large Base map of the Chicago region; also many good black and white maps, diagrams and illustrations, and a useful bibliography. It deals with the origin of the physical features of the region as a whole, and then studies separately each subregion, e.g., the Lake Plain, the Chicago Outlet, and the Valparaiso Upland. It also deals with soils and mineral resources. The treatment throughout is straightforward and clear, with chief emphasis on present and possible human use of resources.

MISS JETER's book is given to a history of the growth of Chicago in terms of population; the development of Agriculture, Manufacture and trade is sketched in connexion with it. The growth of population from 1840 to 1920, and its distribution during the same period is studied in detail; and a prediction is made as to growth from 1920 to 1950. There are good maps and excellent graphs.

IN Memorandum No. 12 issued by the Royal Economic Society (by arrangement with the London and Cambridge Economic Service), Professor Bowley gives a new Index Number of Wages in Great Britain, taking into account the results of the Ministry of Labour enquiry into Hours and Earnings in 1924, and the Census of Production, 1924. He shows (a) that the average earnings (of wage-earners) increased in the ratio of 100 to 195 between 1914 and 1924; (b) that average rates of wage fell to a very small extent between 1924 and 1928; and (c) that cost of living did not rise in the same ratio, so that average real wages increased about 8 per cent. between 1914 and 1924, and another 8 per cent. between 1924 and 1928.

THE GROWTH OF WIRRAL, CHESHIRE: by Eric H. Rideout. Bryant. Liverpool. 1927. 4to. (6s. net.)

THIS book had its origin in papers read to the Liverpool and District Regional Survey Association in 1921. It therefore bears witness to the value of the work done by voluntary local associations interested in surveys of their regions; though, in doing so, it only confirms the impression that must already have been conveyed to those that know the work of the Liverpool Association.

IN the main the book is what its title indicates—a history of the growth of Wirral, studied mainly in terms of population, but with incidental treatment of many other things which have influenced the development of the region. The story commences for practical purposes after the Roman occupation had ended. The author concludes that the Wirral villages were settled chiefly between that time and the Norman Conquest. In this Wirral did not differ, the author thinks, from a great part of Western Cheshire; such older settlements as Eddisbury, on the Delamere Ridge, were outposts only. The dominance in Wirral, as throughout Western Cheshire, of settlements on sandstone or sand sheds a bright light upon the conditions under which the early settlers lived and worked.

WITH the Norman Conquest we reach Domesday Book, and the first statistics of population. From that time onwards Mr. Rideout leads us with great skill through the examination of such documents as "The Mize of 1453," "The Alehouse Returns of 1561," "The Hearth Tax Rolls of 1662," down to the first census in 1801. Their progress to the present time is comparatively easy. We note the study of the present-day Wirral population with business in Liverpool; the interesting studies of the development of markets, roads, railways, canals and bus services: the story of the recent, growth of urban areas such as Birkenhead, Wallasey and Neston; and finally, the eloquent plea for effective regional planning before Wirral shall be completely ruined by the shoddy buildings of to-day. The whole development is illustrated by a series of remarkably clear and interesting maps.

It may not be out of place to suggest one or two possible improvements. It would be of much assistance to survey workers elsewhere if we were told in more detail the history of the township boundaries used on the maps, and again how the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes are discovered and what their history is. The map showing population with business in Liverpool is limited by the available statistics to generalised facts: in such cases a diagram which makes no pretence to territorial accuracy seems really more effective. Again, the method employed on most of the maps of showing density of population by shading is not so effective visually as the "dot distribution" method. Everyone realises the formidable difficulties to be surmounted in using the latter method for maps of past conditions. Many of us, however, hope that some one will try the experiment: Mr. Rideout is, I am sure, one of those who could make a success of it.

THESE, however, are only details, and must not be taken as counting against the value and importance of the work as a whole.

A. F.

SOZIALPSYCHOLOGIE IM AUSLANDE: von L. H. Ad. Geck. Dummlers Verlag, Berlin u. Boun. 1928.

A PAMPHLET of 120 pages, giving a summary history of recent work on Social Psychology in Italy, France, England, America, and other countries, with useful bibliographical lists. The author has made much use of material published in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

HARNESS AS A SOCIAL FACTOR.

THIS little work* may be regarded as a contribution to that history which is descriptive sociology. It is primarily a study of the methods of harnessing horses and oxen—to chariots, carts, wagons and ploughs—which have been used at various periods. The evidence consists mainly of illustrations from statues, wall carvings, tapestries, paintings, and modern photographs, of museum pieces, and of rare references in historical documents. In addition the author has experimented with modern reproductions of ancient harness in attempts to measure its tractive efficiency.

IN the classical world the horse drew a chariot by means of a neck collar, he was unshod, and when more than one horse was employed, as was usually the case, they were harnessed abreast. The author estimates the maximum load, including the weight of the chariot, drawn by a pair of horses under these conditions at about 500 k.g.m. (say half a ton) which is less than half the load normally drawn by one horse in our streets to-day. The modern types of harness appear in the C10 in France and seem to have spread rapidly. The important improvements are (1) the shifting of the pressure from the horse's neck to his shoulders; (2) the use of iron shoes, which give a better grip and allow more pressure on the road; (3) the making of four-wheeled carts and carriages; and (4) lastly, the harnessing in file, which greatly increases the number of animals whose strength can be brought to bear on one load.

THE author regards these improvements in harness as one of the critical social factors of the transition from ancient to modern times. He holds that the inefficiency of animal labour which resulted from the unsuitable harness used in the ancient world was a prime cause of the institution of chattel slavery: and that the reappearance of that social institution in Europe after the Dark Ages was prevented mainly by the greater use of animal labour made possible by better harness. These are large claims: and the book is not large enough to enable the author to do more than indicate them. It is natural that one who has been first to study a previously ignored chapter in social history should be tempted to exaggerate the importance of the facts he has discovered. And the author ignores the fact that the ancient civilisation was essentially of the Mediterranean Region and thus developed in a geographical environment which differs in important respects from that of his modern civilisation north of the Alps. Nevertheless, this book is a very valuable contribution to the literature of sociology and deserves to be widely known.

C. B. F.

WE have received the first issue of the SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW, published by the National Council of Social Service, 26 Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1. This review carries forward on a larger scale the tradition established by the SOCIAL SERVICE BULLETIN, which completed its ninth year of publication in 1928. The Review is indispensable to all interested in Social Service, including, as it does, accounts of any experiments in voluntary work, notes on proposed legislation, reports of public services, articles by readers of experience, and reviews of books bearing on Social progress. With this programme, and under the able guidance of Capt. Ellis and his assistants, it is clear that the Review has before it a long and honourable career.

*LA FORCE MOTRICE À TRAVERS LES ÂGES: by Commandant Lefebvre des Noëttes. Pp. viii. + 132, with 217 illustrations. 2nd edition, publ. Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1924. Price 20 francs.

WEALTH VERSUS THOUGHT AND VICE VERSA: Alfred Zimmern, *Solon and Croesus and other Greek Essays*. Oxford University Press. 1928.

THIS interesting volume—substantially a reprint of essays preliminary to the author's well-known *GREEK COMMONWEALTH*—is opened by a new and highly important essay which gives its title to the book, and which cannot be too heartily recommended to thoughtful readers, since it clearly outlines what is surely one of the most essential problems of our times, that of liberating Solon from Croesus, thought from gain, wisdom from wealth, as did at their best the Greeks of old.

"IN the civilisation of Ancient Greece, men lived in homes of mud-brick, but Solon spoke to Croesus not only as equal but as master. To-day Croesus is king, in fact if not in name, and the successors of Solon, no longer law-givers, count themselves happy if they are not his hirelings. In that reversal of the two rôles lies the central problem of twentieth-century civilisation.

"THE conditions of to-day seem only the more extraordinary when we ask how it is that Croesus has been able to secure and maintain his supremacy."

"CIVILISATION . . . consists neither in the accumulation of knowledge, nor in the perfecting of institutions, still less in the development of material inventions and conveniences. Civilisation, as bequeathed to us by the Greeks, is a possession of the spirit: and its continuing element, both in the world as a whole and in individual communities, is the presence at any one time of a sufficient proportion of civilised persons—that is, of men and women who have individually made the effort to absorb, and, as it were, live over again in their own wider experience, the thought of their predecessors in civilisation. This is the only true sense in which we can speak of a civilised world or a civilised community. And the only valid test of political, social and (let it be added) economic institutions is whether they are such as to provide the community with an assured succession of such individuals. Abridge or limit this succession, and a process of decadence will inevitably set in. Not only thought itself will wither and decay, but the whole imposing superstructure of material wealth and power, the docks and the arsenals, the banks and the exchanges, will be touched with the same paralysis."

HENCE criticism of "some of the methods by which Croesus worms his way into the citadel of truth." Thus a brief but piercing criticism of our universities, as they go on degenerating from seats of learning and homes of truth into "mere congeries of administrative and diplomatic activities," as also of journalism and of the whole formation of public opinion, so reaching inquiry into our over-specialised knowledge and lines of action, and how it is that "knowledge has been reduced to this position of humiliating subservience to the masters of material power."

THE importance of modern literacy is duly recognised; yet its inferiority to Greek illiteracy made clear, and the urgency of reorganising the resources of Solon towards the civilising of Croesus is forcibly pressed for. As an example towards the needed practical programme for this, our writer, as one of the effective organisers of the League of Nations International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, outlines its hopes and possibilities, towards aiding Science, Art, Letters and Education to form an indissoluble whole.

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"UNITED they can stand four-square against the onslaught of Croesus; divided they can be easily overpowered. Hence the story of Prometheus Bound." "The liberation of the modern Prometheus, that is the drama for which the stage is now set. And the secret of his freeing is in the united will of the scholars, writers, artists and teachers of the entire world."

NEXT follow three essays, also thoughtful and stimulating, on History as an Art, the Study of Greek History, and Thucydides the Imperialist: and, finally, three economic chapters—two on how far "was Greek Civilisation based on Slave Labour," with interesting analysis of slavery, leading to "Suggestions towards a Political Economy of the Greek City-State."

ALTOGETHER, then, we have here an excellent volume, meriting wide circulation and influence.

P. G.

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE REGIONAL PLANNING SCHEME: by J. H. Forshaw. University Press of Liverpool. 1927. (4to.)

THIS report is another proof of the value of the work done by the Town Planning Department of the Ministry of Health in forming Joint Town Planning Committees in many different parts of the country. The region affected by this scheme has some features that make it specially important. It is close to the Lake District, and it is also comparatively close to the great centres of population of South Lancaster.

ON its Survey side the report follows standard lines, giving the leading facts about the topography, history, health, population, drainage and water supply of the region; and so on. The recommendations deal chiefly with communications and zones. Readers who are less interested in these technical aspects will find of interest the sections about the recent and possible future development of various parts of the region.

THE maps, plans and illustrations follow the tradition established in connexion with such reports, and are very good of their kind. It is, however, always unsatisfactory to reproduce large plans as illustrations in such a book.

THE sociologist will remark that little or no attention is given to the placing of institutions and their relation to the community in the region.

A. F.

ADMINISTRATIVE ATLAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES: Edited by George Philip, F.R.G.S. George Philip & Son. 1928. cr. 8vo. (6s net.)

GAZETTEER OF THE BRITISH ISLES: Edited by George Philip, F.R.G.S. George Philip & Son. 1924. cr. 8vo. (3s. 6d. net.)

THIS Atlas is one of those inexpensive and valuable reference works that all who are working on Civic or Regional Surveys should have on their shelves. Its chief value is as a guide to the Local Government Divisions of each County area; these are apt to baffle the beginner unless he has access to maps such as this Atlas gives, where they are clearly set out. Boundaries of Parliamentary Boroughs and Divisions and of Assessment Areas also are shown: and there are special maps showing Ecclesiastical Organisation, Railway Grouping, Distribution of Population, &c. An introduction gives a clear summary of our system of Local Administration: and the Gazetteer is in effect a Place Index to the maps, and to those in the similar Atlases of Scotland and Ireland.

AN INTERPRETATION OF CURRENT PROGRESS: Lucien Romier, *L'Homme Nouveau, Esquisse des Consequences du Progrès.* Librairie Hachette. 1929. (Fr. 12.)

HERE is a fresh volume by M. Romier, whose *EXPLICATION DE NOTRE TEMPS* we welcomed some time ago; and who is of active leadership in *LE REDRESSEMENT FRANCAIS*, which we also had occasion to appreciate in the last issue (Jan., 1929). This new volume can even less be dispensed with by students of the movement of society, since at once of world-wide survey and of penetrating interpretations, industrial, financial, and broadly economic, yet psychological and even ethical as well. In his *NEW MAN*, for whom the physical isolation of the past has been swept away by modern communications, and for whom intellectual isolation also can no longer exist, he points out clearly his moral isolation, since despite all the advantages of our modern multitude, with its complex material interdependence, the moral ties of older groupings have not yet been replaced. Like Wells or Keyserling, he utilises the familiar contrast of old-fashioned wagoner and modern chauffeur, and points out how the latter's ingenuity and alertness, cold audacity, energy and endurance have become typical of modern life, and this increasingly in the rising generation. From this he goes on into the changes of latent and working philosophy of the modern public, and, as notably, into its intensive nationalism, interpreted very largely as a definite and purposive policy and product of current State education, albeit with surviving ethnic elements.

RIGHTLY beginning his world-survey with a geographic view of the changing world, he starts with the contrasted types of empire, determined respectively by land and sea, with their river, valley, and estuarine interconnection, now increasingly modified by rail and ship, and recently anew by air; so with fresh and formidable war risks, which he helps us further to understand. Then comes a broad outline of Europe and its problems, no longer merely international in the old sense, but now compressed towards unification by the contrasted growths and changes of America on the one hand and of Russia on the other. A world-dramatic situation is thus clearly set before us, with its interchanges, and its generalised pressures, as from the super-capitalism of New York to the communism of Moscow, and from the internal dangers of Europe to the instability of its colonial empires—subjects briefly treated, yet with more insight than contrasted politicians yet show. This section of the book concludes with an excellent chapter on the imperialism of finance.

THE changing conditions of social existence are next treated with the same combination of concreteness and general grasp, as from housing to city life, with their defects and needs; the section concluding with a call for creative intelligence and its applications, for our author clearly sees the need of all this, as for our country as well as his own.

THE significance of cinema and radio on popular thought and life are keenly handled, with the individual shown as "in prey to the multitude." Thus, too, the old stabilities of home, patrimony, or even acquired fortune are carried away into a stream of active movement and change in which not merely the weaker go to the wall, but also the slower.

YET through such ways of economic and political survey our author reaches his conclusion of an incipient ethic, seen as emerging, despite all drawbacks amid imperialisms and mercantilisms of the economic world, and setting

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limit alike to the brutalities of war and to the pride and ambition of individualism in peace—through a growing discernment of the true law of success and survival—through Service.

We students of sociology may fairly urge upon our author that he might with advantage take a little more note of what, amid so many centres of study and publication, we are trying to see and say, and even beginning to do; but none the less we may all profit by the impact of this freshening and vigorous mind.

P. G.

RECENT SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE WAR AND PARTICULARLY IN 1927: Edited by William F. Ogburn. University of Chicago Press. (Camb. Univ. Press) 1929. 8vo. (15s. net.)

THE studies included in this book were first published in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY in July, 1928: they are now reprinted to reach a wider circle. While not following any logical scheme in the division of the field to be covered, the aim of the Editor has plainly been to include studies dealing with Natural Resources, Economic Development, and Social Progress. Thus we have studies—to select at random—of POPULATION by Warren S. Thompson, NATURAL RESOURCES by George Otis Smith, FOREIGN POLICY by Raymond Leslie Buell, EMPLOYMENT by William A. Berridge, COMMUNICATIONS by E. W. Burgess, and THE FAMILY by Ernest R. Groves. Abundant statistical material on nearly all the topics dealt with is provided by the writers: there are some graphs: all the writers aim at a comprehensive treatment which in some cases makes the studies catalogues of facts rather than reasoned statements. It would be foolish to press unfavourable criticisms, however, where, as in this case, an honest and wholehearted attempt is being made to meet an outstanding need. If periodical accounts of social changes in the U.S.A. are in view—and if a sociological "cadre" could in time be worked out for use in those, the publication under review may become a landmark in the history of "National Surveys."

A. F.

GUIDE TO CURRENT OFFICIAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM: Volume 6: 1927. H.M. Stationery Office. 1928. (1s. net.)

THE earlier issues of this useful publication have been noticed from time to time in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. In this volume, as before, the guide shows itself to be an indispensable reference book for all who have a cause to consult official statistics, and not least for those engaged in Civic and Regional Surveys.

THE CONTROVERSIALIST. (Monthly, 1s.)

THE purpose of this magazine is to provide authoritative opinion on topical questions of a controversial nature. An interesting feature of the present number is a section setting forth the pros and cons of Prohibition, Birth-Control, and Gambling. Other sections deal with Politics, Affairs, Science versus Religion, and Book Reviews.

THE PRE-WAR MIND IN GREAT BRITAIN: AN HISTORICAL REVIEW: by C. E. Playne. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

IN these days when so much is taught and written on social conditions, if not always with much result, it is encouraging to welcome this large and purposeful examination of our "pre-war mind," in its war-drift—in the period before 1914, with its crescendo of nationalism to imperialism and to armaments, and thence back again, for worse and worse. The briefest possible account of this book is to recognise its essential agreement with the protests and criticisms of Bernard Shaw, J. A. Hobson, Lowes Dickinson, Wilfred Blunt, and others who kept their heads and gave their warnings; but it is also to be recommended for its fullness of historic survey with abundance of illustrative citations. Thus, after writing briefly (in the long paper in this present number) of the genesis and development of nationalism and imperialism, one finds here the needed comprehensive evidence and fuller development of that theme. In such ways this book thoroughly deserves a place not only in the sociologist's library, but in every public one; as doubtless also its companion volume, by the same author, *THE NEUROSES OF THE NATIONS* (Germany and France before the war). And this the more since proving that the writer's home-truths, and faithful dealings-out of criticisms, are not directed against any one country, which each irritable nationalist at first thinks his own. Whereas all this constitutes a serious and impartial survey of the developments of the war-mind, from effervescence, to ebullition, and thus explosion, in the great countries of Europe, all too much alike. It is thus impartial and truthful in its war-psychology, and its main sociological diagnosis; assuredly also sound in its warnings, and its suggestiveness towards protective treatment in future, difficult though such cooling antiseptics may long be—witness, for recent instance, the popular, and even so far governmental, excitement of Holland and Germany against Belgium and France, over what was published as their military agreement, but which was fortunately soon confessed a forgery. But Bismarck, with the Ems telegram in 1870, successfully "did the trick"; and so may others the like any day. Hence there can never be good times for the world till its Kings (however democratic) are social philosophers; nor this till philosophers, thitherwards ruling themselves, attain sufficient range and rule of social thought and feeling towards sympathy and synthesis. For only hence can come world-policy as etho-polity, in social synergy, towards worthy achievement, as of turning from our armaments in fear, our wars in hate, and so to the true Peace, of mutual helpwill. This ideal will become less remote, in the measure in which we have hope enough to nerve and equip ourselves for it.

P. G.

HANDBOOK OF RURAL SOCIAL RESOURCES, 1928: Edited by Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press. (Camb. Univ. Press.) 1928. cr. 8vo. (10s. net.)

THE first issue of this useful handbook was noticed in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* in January, 1928. This is the second issue: it follows the lines laid down in the first; the information under each head is brought up to date.

WE have received Memorandum No. 11—*THE RAILWAY INDUSTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1927*—issued by the Royal Economic Society by arrangement with the London and Cambridge Economic Service. This is an admirable statistical summary of the railway position, and probably the best document with which to commence a study of the question "What is to be the future of British Railways?"

**PSYCHOLOGY: WHAT IT HAS TO TEACH YOU ABOUT
YOURSELF AND THE WORLD YOU LIVE IN:** by Everett
Dean Martin. Jonathan Cape Ltd., London.

HERE is a very readable, broad-minded and attractive introduction to psychology; delightfully free from the dryness of text-books, since with the conversational quality of good lectures, at once popular yet scholarly. In fact, a widely comprehensive survey of most of the leading fields of contemporary inquiry, giving the commonsense of each, and awakening further interest in following up each and all. Its perspective naturally is the American one; and after all, what better? For thus it starts from the admirable general revival of the main fields due to the insight and genius of William James, and thence brings on the reader to appreciate the various works of other schools, as notably the Behaviourists, &c., though with too little recognition of Stanley Hall, whose "Adolescence," "Senescence," "Morale," &c., surely deserve another chapter. It is very free from patriotic national or other limitations, a shrewd and impartial criticism constantly shows. So with fair recognition of European contributions, as notably, of course, of psycho-analytic endeavours and results. All these and more are fairly set forth, in due place, in this well-sketched outline of the science in so many of its movements, applications and influences, and even for social needs. In short, then, it is no small pleasure and satisfaction thus to find a book of elemental psychology which one can pass on to general readers and students alike, with such confident recommendation.

**INNSBRUCK: EINE GEBIRGSSTADT, IHR LEBENSRAUM, UND
IHRE ERSCHENUNG:** von Dr. Hans Bobek. Engelhorn, Stutt-
gart. 1928. (13.70 marks.)

THIS volume (one of the excellent series issued under the general title FORSCHUNGEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN LANDES-UND VOLKSKUNDE) cannot receive an adequate notice at this moment: we hope to consider it more fully, in connection with other examples of City Study, in the near future. The author has given most friendly assistance to students from Leplay House working in the Innsbruck area: those who have known him in this connection will not be surprised to read that the book is an exceptionally good study of its kind, showing great powers of research and able presentation of results.

Owing to pressure on space it has been found necessary to hold over the usual lists of books and periodicals received.